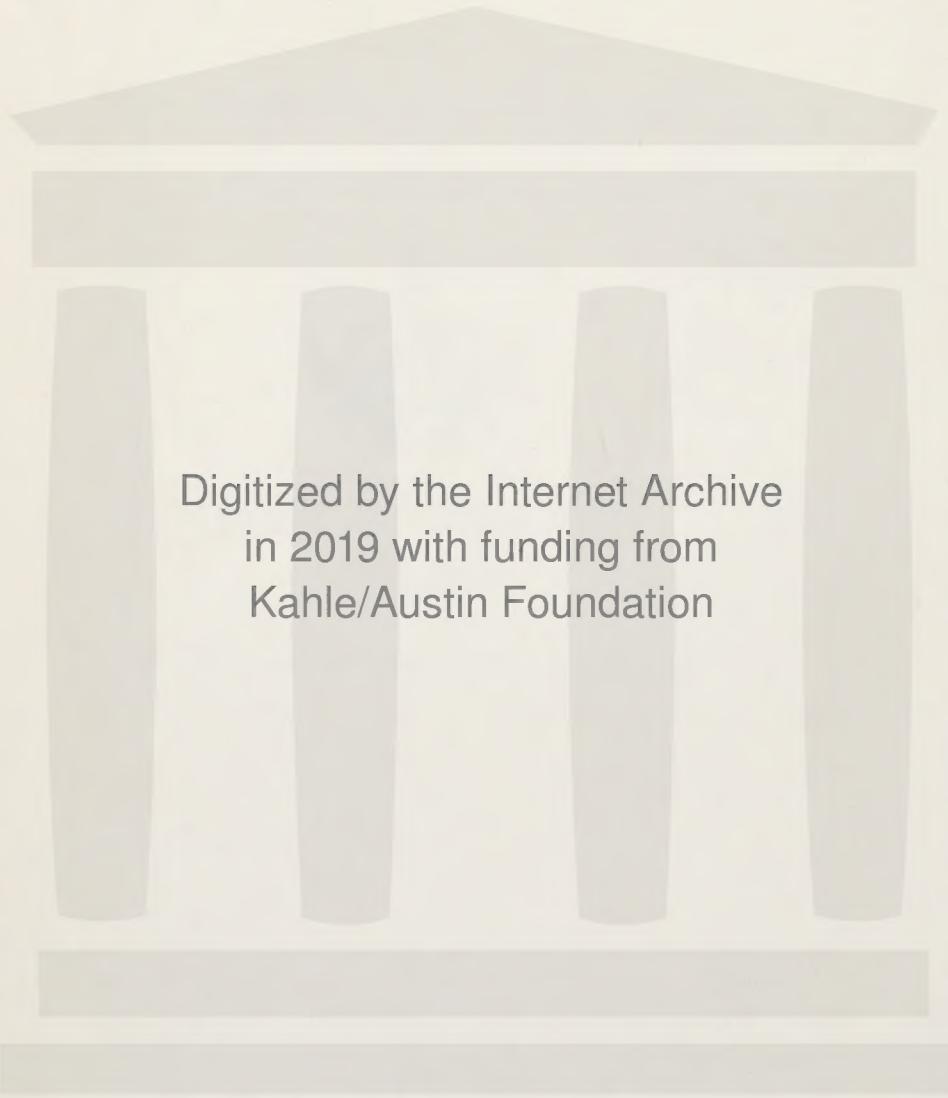


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Canadian Historical Association

Report of the Annual Meeting
Held at Kingston,
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With Historical Papers

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WHERE STANDS CANADIAN HISTORY?

Presidential Address by WALTER N. SAGE

The University of British Columbia

THE problem "Where Stands Canadian History?" is, or should be, omnipresent in the minds of Canadian historians, and of all those Canadians who are vitally interested in their country's story. With it is coupled another and even more pressing problem, "Where Stands Canada Today?"

We are now nearing the end of the second World War. The European phase is over and the Pacific phase is, we trust, well on its way towards completion. In this second World War Canada has assumed a position in world affairs which most of us in the dark depression days of the early nineteen-thirties hardly dreamed possible. Canada is now of her own right one of the World Powers. We are told that Canada is a power of the medium rank, far more important than her comparatively small population would seem to warrant. Canadians, as a people, are not much given to boasting about their own country. In fact on the whole we have tended to be a bit too apologetic for Canada. We have been, if anything, too conscious of the Great Neighbour to the south. Although since 1931 Canada has officially been recognized as a self-governing nation enjoying equality of status with all the other sister nations of the British Commonwealth, Canadians have been slow in recognizing the implications of that fact. There has been too much of what might be termed the "overhang of colonialism."¹ John McCormac in 1940 went on record as follows: "In Canada to be 'disloyal' means to be disloyal to Great Britain. Such a crime as disloyalty to Canada scarcely exists."²

This "overhang of colonialism" dies hard, especially in certain portions of English-speaking Canada. None the less Canadianism is growing from coast to coast and is noteworthy among the younger generation. It might even be hazarded that now "colonialism" is chiefly to be found in the older age groups and that the coming generation is even more devotedly Canadian than were their parents and grandparents. "Canada First" which in the early eighteen-seventies was a prophetic cry, has now become more and more of a pressing reality.

It is just possible that to Canada the second World War may be what the defeat of the Spanish Armada was to Elizabethan England, the letting loose of a genuine and all-embracing patriotism. It might and should be accompanied by a real advance in Canadian art, literature, and in the writing of Canadian history.

The "overhang of colonialism" has been very evident in the history of history in Canada. The three fields in which the most productive work was done up till a quarter of a century ago, viz. New France, the evolution of self-government to 1850, and Confederation, all lay definitely within the colonial period. In 1867 the new Dominion of Canada was still a colony.

¹By "colonialism" is meant the attitude of mind which emphasizes the larger loyalties to Mother Country and Empire, almost to the complete exclusion of loyalty to one's native colony, province, or country.

²John McCormac, *Canada, America's Problem* (New York, 1940), 127.

In 1897 at the time of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria Canadians sang :

Far from the Motherland
Nobly we'll fall or stand
By England's Queen.³

Canadians were still colonials at the time of the South African War, although perhaps some faint stirrings of national feeling might be found not only in the opposition to the sending of troops from Canada to fight the Boers, but also in the rejoicings in the Land of the Maple over the gallant charge of the Canadians at Paardeburg. It was not, however, till the first World War that Canada really became conscious of her nationality.

This slow growth of national feeling had a profound effect upon the study and writing of Canadian history. To be sure Garneau founded the French-speaking school of Canadian historians as a reaction to the taunts of his English-speaking fellow Canadians who demonstrated their British colonialism by their slurs at the "people with no history and no literature." It was inevitable that the early historians of the British North American provinces should deal with colonial history. They were colonials, some of whom did not live to see Confederation. The noteworthy feature of the situation is, however, that for nearly half a century after federation the writers of Canadian history were in the main still colonial in their outlook. An exception must be made, no doubt, in the case of the French-Canadian historians, but their "*nationalisme*" was somewhat provincial, and possibly, in essence, just as "colonial" as the colonialism of the English-speaking historians. J. C. Dent and William Kingsford were as colonial in their outlook as were Beamish Murdock and Robert Christie. It may be that a century from now writers on Canadian historiography may catch a nationalistic note before 1900, but to us today this is rather doubtful.

In the writing of Canadian history, as in the evolution of our country, it is impossible to draw any fixed and definite line of demarcation between the colonial and the national periods. One is conscious of "colonialism" in the writings of the early twentieth-century historians, but one is conscious also of a stirring of genuine Canadianism in many of these historians. The fact would seem to be that most of us English-speaking Canadians who can remember the Diamond Jubilee and the South African War are quite aware that we were born colonials but at some uncertain point of time during the first two decades of the present century we became Canadians. Probably with most of us this change was practically unconscious, and we cannot tell when it actually occurred. The year 1905 when Alberta and Saskatchewan were created out of the old North-West Territories might be taken as a possible date. The opening up of the Prairies gave Canada new hope and a sense of her destiny. Did not Sir Wilfrid Laurier claim that the twentieth century belonged to Canada?⁴

³From a special version of "God Save the Queen" sung at services held in Canadian churches on June 20, 1897.

⁴The growth of Canadian nationalism during this period may be illustrated by a comparison of the Jubilee stamps of 1897 which all bore the 1837 and 1897 portraits of Queen Victoria with the Tercentenary stamps of 1908 which were issued in French and portrayed persons and scenes from early Canadian history.

The three great co-operative ventures in Canadian historical writing which appeared shortly before and during the first World War, and which paralleled similar ventures in the United States—"The Makers of Canada," "The Chronicles of Canada," and *Canada and Its Provinces*, probably mark a transition stage from the colonialism of the eighteen-eighties and eighteen-nineties to the nationalism of the nineteen-twenties, thirties, and forties. These three noteworthy sets of volumes written in English, have unfortunately as yet no French counterpart. That does not mean that French-speaking Canadians did not contribute to the three ventures. Far from it, but they wrote in English and thereby secured a wider audience. The first of the series, "The Makers of Canada," followed, in the main, conventional lines. It paid some attention to the Maritime Provinces and deigned to notice the West, but the bulk of the "Makers of Canada" had lived and worked in "Old Canada," or, if you prefer the term, "Canada Proper." The themes discussed were well-known and well-worn; discovery and exploration—with some attention to the West including the Pacific Slope—the French Régime, the struggle for responsible government and Confederation. The pre-publication announcement stated that the series was "From Cartier to Laurier" and it is amusing that in some places in Ontario adverse comment was passed that the series began and ended with a Frenchman! The index volume was a valuable dictionary of Canadian history. On the whole the series although to some extent forward-looking, was rather conventional in outlook, form, and treatment. Nor was the revised edition which came out in 1926 much of an improvement.

The second venture, "The Chronicles of Canada," contained several new and striking features. The whole series was made up of "interesting little books,"⁵ for popular reading, well-written, and easily read. The publisher, Mr. Robert Glasgow, and the editors, Professor G. M. Wrong and Mr. H. H. Langton, did an excellent piece of planning when they laid out the series. Of the nine "parts" five followed along traditional lines but the other four blazed new trails. These were: "The Red Man in Canada," "Pioneers of the North and West," "The Growth of Nationality," and "National Highways." Colonel William Wood in his bibliographical note on *All Afloat* recorded that this volume seemed "to be the only book of its kind" and that no other book had been written "on the special subject of any one of its eleven chapters."⁶ Dr. O. D. Skelton's *The Railway Builders* was, and remains, a masterpiece.

Canada and Its Provinces, edited by Dr. Adam Shortt and Sir Arthur Doughty, was by far the most ambitious of the three great series. Although now thirty years old, it is still the most comprehensive history of Canada extant. It was also planned by Mr. Glasgow and published by Glasgow, Brook, and Company. New features of this series were the volumes given to the industrial expansion of the Dominion, to missions, arts and letters, and to the various provinces. The nationalistic note is sounded in the series, but the colonial period is adequately treated.

No survey of Canadian historical writing in Canada in the early years of the twentieth century could be complete without reference to the *Review*

⁵The phrase is that of Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California, who made great use of these volumes in his class on the history of the Americas.

⁶William Wood, *All Afloat* (Toronto, 1914), 289.

of *Historical Publications Relating to Canada* and to the work of the Public Archives. The *Review* was founded by Professor George M. Wrong in 1896. The Public Archives dates back to the work of Dr. Douglas Brymner, commencing in 1871, but taking a new lease on life when Sir Arthur Doughty was appointed Archivist in 1904, and the new Archives Building was erected in 1906. The Public Archives soon became the recognized centre for research in Canadian history. Sir Arthur Doughty was a great collector of materials and to him the Archives owed the securing of some of its greatest treasures. Dr. Adam Shortt and Sir Arthur Doughty co-operated in bringing out their great collection of *Canadian Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791*, in 1907.⁷ This volume was followed by Doughty and McArthur, *Canadian Constitutional Documents, 1791-1818*, published in 1914, and Doughty and Storey, *Canadian Constitutional Documents, 1819-1828* in 1935.

The *Review of Historical Publications* did much to raise the level of historical scholarship in Canada. At first the polemic tone of some of the reviews caused rather severe repercussions but steadily the editors and reviewers achieved their objectives. The *Review* called attention to what was being actually written in the Canadian history field. Writing in 1936, Mr. Wrong modestly recorded in retrospect: "Within the limits of decent courtesy, we let our reviewers say what they liked even when they chose to be both anonymous and severe. It was all in the day's work, and now, in the evening, we may hope that we and our contributors did something to aid in Canada the fair and adequate interpretation of its history."⁸

In the early nineteen-twenties two events of importance in the history of Canadian history occurred. These were the launching of the *Canadian Historical Review* in 1920 and the formation of the Canadian Historical Association in 1922. The *Canadian Historical Review*, published by the University of Toronto Press and edited by Mr. W. S. Wallace and later by Professor George W. Brown, was a continuation of the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*, but it was also much more. It contained articles on various phases of Canadian history and provided a means of publication for the group of younger historians who, after the first World War, had turned their attention to the Canadian field. The Canadian Historical Association stemmed from the Historic Landmarks Association of Canada which had come into existence in 1905. At the sixteenth annual meeting of the Historic Landmarks Association held in the Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, on May 18, 1921, His Honour Judge F. W. Howay moved, seconded by the Reverend E. H. Oliver—"That the Historic Landmarks Association of Canada be merged in the Canadian Historical Association hereby constituted and that the draft constitution submitted by the Council be adopted provisionally as the Constitution of the Canadian Historical Association."⁹ Dr. Lawrence J. Burpee, former president of the Historic Landmarks Association, was elected the first president of the Canadian Historical Association and Dr. C. Marius Barbeau, former secretary of the Historic Landmarks Association, the first secretary of the new Association.

⁷Second edition in 2 vols., 1918.

⁸Quoted in R. Flenley (ed.), *Essays in Canadian History* (Toronto, 1939), 14.

⁹*Canadian Historical Association Report, 1922* (Ottawa, 1923), 18.

In his last address as president of the Historic Landmarks Association, Dr. Burpee thus described the work of that organization: "The Historic Landmarks Association has to its credit a number of years of faithful and useful work. It has laboured quietly yet persistently for the promotion of a public sentiment that would not permit the historic landmarks of Canada to remain neglected and forgotten. It may also claim at least some of the credit for the establishment of the Quebec Battlefields Commission, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, and the new Quebec Historic Monuments Commission."¹⁰

The *Canadian Historical Review* has now completed its twenty-fifth year, and the Canadian Historical Association will celebrate its Silver Jubilee in 1947. Although the *Review* and the annual *Report* of the Association have been published in the English language—the *Report* does print papers in French as well—both these publications have paid adequate attention to French Canada. Mention, however, should here be made of the valuable *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* which has now completed its fiftieth year and is thus the senior historical publication in Canada.

No discussion of the development of the history of history in Canada is in any way possible without an adequate appreciation of the work of the French-speaking historians. In his presidential address to this Association delivered in Kingston in 1941, the Archivist of Canada, Dr. Gustave Lanctot, dealt with "Les Historiens d'hier et l'histoire d'aujourd'hui." In it Dr. Lanctot gave a most valuable summary of the works of the early historians of Canada, both French and English. There is no need here to retraverse this well-covered ground except to point out that from the days of Michel Bibaud and François-Xavier Garneau to those of Senator Thomas Chapais, and Canon Groulx, there have been two distinct schools of historical writing in Canada, the French-speaking and the English-speaking. Unfortunately the liaison between these two groups has been far from complete. In fact at times there has seemed to be little or no attempt at liaison between them at all. The language bar has been a reality. Far too few English-speaking historians have any fluency in French. Most of them have a reading knowledge of that language but many of them have paid too little attention to what was being written by their French-speaking compatriots. On their part French-speaking historians have perhaps been slow in seeking a liaison with their English-speaking colleagues. Now that Canadians seem to be realizing their national and international position it would be well for us all to work for a closer co-operation, or *bonne entente*, between the historians of both languages. In this connection special mention should be made of the excellent work in both languages of the Abbé Arthur Maheux. The Canadian Historical Association is itself attempting to provide means for better understanding, but perhaps a greater space on our programmes might be given to papers in the French language. It is possible that thereby more French-speaking members could be secured.

In French Canada, the work of Canon Lionel Groulx has been outstanding. He is a doughty champion of the rights of the *Québécois* and is the advocate of a realistic policy towards the rest of Canada:

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 7.

For collaboration without return or without profit we should substitute a collaboration based on interest, on give and take. Note well: I do not suggest a policy of unnecessary stiffness, even less of violence. I do not ask for war and I do not urge war. I propose the only course left to us, the course of legitimate defence. I do not preach an attitude of defeat: I want a policy of being present whenever there is need of being present, but only on a footing of equality and dignity. We do not need to show that we want national peace in Canada more than anyone else, since we have made more sacrifices for it than anyone else. We always keep our hand open and outstretched, but we no longer hold out a soft hand to be crushed. We cease to beg for union as if guilty of disunion, or as if the problem of understanding were not at least ninety-five per cent an English-Canadian rather than a French-Canadian problem. To sum up, we do not refuse to collaborate but it must be two-sided collaboration.¹¹

This rather lengthy quotation sets forth the views of the Abbé Groulx, whose works are, on the whole, far too little read by English-speaking Canadians. Canon Groulx is a real force in the Province of Quebec. As Mr. Rothney has well said in the foreword to his translation of the Abbé's speech of November 29, 1943, from which this quotation has been taken: "He has a way of turning his students into disciples fired with a burning zeal."¹² No student of present trends in Canadian historical writing and teaching can afford to neglect Canon Groulx, Professor of Canadian History at the University of Montreal, any more than he can neglect the Abbé Maheux, Professor of History at Laval University. These two champions of opposite schools of thought clearly set forth the divergent views of our historical brethren in French Canada. The French Canadian recognizes only one homeland—Canada, and one loyalty—to his native land. He differs from the majority of English-speaking Canadians in language and religion. His cultural background is not ours but he will yield to none of us in his devotion to the land of his birth.

In surveying the achievements of Canadian historians since 1920 one is struck by the diversity of the subjects treated. We are getting off the beaten paths and blazing new trails into our historical wilderness. A few of these trails call for special mention.

First has been the emphasis on economic history, and the faint beginning of an interest in social history. Although the economic history of Canada had received the attention of some historians of the first two decades of the present century, e.g. Dr. Shortt and Dr. O. D. Skelton, the greatest work in this field dates from the early nineteen-twenties. Practically every phase of the economic life of Canada is being, or has been, investigated. In this field the name of Dr. Harold Innis stands foremost. Most attention has been paid in all probability in the economic sphere to the history of the "staples," fur, fish, lumber, wheat, minerals, and to the story of transportation. On the statistical side great progress has been made, but so far no definitive history of statistics in Canada has yet appeared. One great series has dealt with "Canadian Frontiers of Settlement," a

¹¹Canon Lionel Groulx, *Why We Are Divided* (Montreal, n.d.), 21. Translated by G. O. Rothney.

¹²*Ibid.*, 3

careful examination into the development of the Canadian Prairies, with a final volume which discusses *Settlement and the Forest and Mining Frontier*. This series is typical of the historical research of the last quarter of a century. It is now, apparently, no longer possible to plan a large co-operative work dealing with the whole field of Canadian history. What is now attempted is a series of studies in one area, or around one central theme.

An example of the latter is, of course, the "Relations of the United States and Canada" series, sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, under the general editorship of Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University. This most important series, of which over twenty volumes have already been published, is an international undertaking. Canadian and American historians have co-operated—in some instances in the same volume—to study the peaceful relationships between the two countries which share North America north of the Rio Grande. The Americans have contributed studies on various periods and phases of Canadian-American relations and there is in their work rather more homogeneity than can be found in the Canadian volumes. Among the latter are certain regional studies, including one in the French language. It is to be regretted that the stirring events which succeeded Pearl Harbour have also interfered with the completion of this unique series.

From Canadian-American relations to international affairs would seem to be an easy transition. During the last decade the Canadian Institute of International Affairs has made possible the publication of many notable studies in the history of Canada's external relations. The historical purist may object that some of the volumes in question are sure to "date" and that they will tend to be ephemeral. To this criticism there is the obvious and valid answer that the extent to which they "date" will cause them to become important historical documents and source material for later studies of Canadian opinion.

The relations of Canada with the British Commonwealth, especially with the Mother Country, have also received considerable attention. None the less Canada's new position in world affairs necessitates a fresh evaluation of her position in the British Commonwealth.

Another old theme that has produced new harmonies—and possibly even discords—has been that of Dominion-Provincial relations. The Rowell-Sirois Report, with its voluminous appendices, has its place in Canadian historiography. Book I of the Report is one of the most valuable studies on certain financial and economic phases of Canada's development since 1867 which has yet appeared. The appendices also contain a wealth of historical material which no serious student of Canadian history can afford to ignore.

In this connection it may be observed that the period since 1867 is receiving more and more attention. By and large, Canadian historians have, in their researches, now reached and passed Confederation, and are engaged on problems of the post-Confederation period. Many of us are working in the eighteen-seventies, the eighteen-eighties, and the eighteen-nineties and some even later.

Provincial and local history is well to the fore. There has been an historical renaissance in the Maritimes and in British Columbia and there are signs that Ontario is now seriously tackling the problem of its local

history. Quebec is, as ever, faithful to her trust. She does not, will not, and cannot, neglect her storied past. The Prairie Provinces, too, are bestirring themselves. Here we must pause and do honour to one of our number who has so recently left us. Professor Arthur S. Morton was to the Prairies what Judge Howay was to British Columbia, the historian of pioneer days, the indefatigable searcher after the truth as he found it, the untiring writer, and the guide, philosopher, and friend to the younger historians.

There is only time for a fleeting reference to the work of the Public Archives, the provincial archives, especially those of Nova Scotia, British Columbia, and Quebec, and to the provincial and local historical societies, many of which are affiliated with our Association. Mention should also be made of the university and public libraries. Nor can one forget the learned societies, the Royal Society of Canada, the Champlain Society, the Hudson's Bay Records Society, the Canadian Social Science Research Council, and the recently formed Humanities Research Council. All these organizations are playing their part in stimulating historical studies in Canada.

Although, on the whole, Canadian historical writing is still and will remain in the monograph stage, there are already some attempts at synthesis. Volume vi of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, published in 1930, was in a sense the last of the old group of co-operative histories of Canada to which reference has earlier been made. But it was also a synthesis of Canadian historical scholarship at the beginning of the stormy nineteen-thirties. During the present war, two members of our Association have published one-volume histories of Canada, one of them is a Canadian now resident in the United States, and the other a member of the Department of History in the University of Toronto. Both books have enjoyed a well-deserved popularity. A western Canadian professor is now engaged on the second volume of what we trust will be a full-length history of our country.

Nor have the older trails become overgrown. Canadian constitutional history is well to the fore. Several outstanding works have appeared in that field since 1920. What is even more important, research work in Canadian history is being done in more and more of our universities and already several well-known research schools exist. In them Canadian constitutional studies are not neglected.

Although much has been accomplished no survey of the present status of Canadian historical writing can be complete without reference to several yawning gaps in our historical scholarship. Military and naval history has not yet received sufficient attention. With some notable exceptions, our generation of Canadian historians has neglected this important field. Much, however, has been done since the outbreak of the present war. Each of the armed services is working hard at its portion of the history of the present war. It is suggested that at the next annual meeting of this Association this subject should receive some attention.

The intellectual and cultural history of Canada has yet to be written. So too has our business history. Little has been done on the history of the professions, law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, and engineering. Recently medical history has received some attention. Let us hope that this is only a beginning. Literary history is now being written, but much remains

to be done. Religious history in the broadest sense, not the history of any one denomination, but the influence of religion upon the development of our country, has never been adequately studied. We have histories of various churches, but practically no estimate of the work of the Christian Church as a whole. A beginning has been made on the history of the fine arts in Canada, but it is only a beginning. The fascinating story of journalism, especially the influence of newspapers on our national life, is as yet untold. The themes for our new historians are manifold and varied.

And so we still face the twin problems of "Where Stands Canadian History?" and "Where Stands Canada Today?" Both are closely intertwined. No Canadian can understand our country unless he, or she, knows its history. But a superficial knowledge of that history is not enough. Nor is an antiquarian knowledge enough. That knowledge which will vary from individual to individual, from section to section, from culture to culture, must be deep, wide, and filled with wisdom. The Fathers of Confederation embarked on a huge experiment of nation building. We, their descendants, must carry on and add to the superstructure. Our country is no longer a colony, but a medium rank World Power. Out of our diverse peoples, our separate traditions and cultures we must forge a Canadian unity. It will not be a uniformity. Each part will make its contribution and preserve its identity. But the final result will be, we trust, *Canadian*.

DISCUSSION

Principal Wallace suggested that the time has now come for a careful study of the métis problem in Canada. A long enough period has elapsed since the mixing of the Indians with French and Scotch began to get scientific results. A study of dialects is already under way.

Professor Brebner pointed out that Mr. Giraud in Paris is about to publish the first volume of his *Histoire des Métis*.

Professor Underhill rose to call attention to two important omissions. The author of the paper did not ask why Canadian historians never write anything except about Canada. He also failed to mention Professor Cochrane's profound study of *Christianity and Classical Culture*. The productions of Canadian historians should be compared with the historical work appearing in the United States and Great Britain. *Professor Underhill* suggested the recently completed series, "History of American Life," as a possible basis of comparison.

Mr. Kenney said that not enough attention has been given to the Turner frontier thesis as applied to Canada. The growth of population, and of communities, and the integration of races should be studied with that in mind.

Professor Lower pointed out that the mixing of races and groups is a very old process in Canada. We should start to study "the subtler things" the various peoples have brought to Canada—their ideas, traditions, cultural background. The speaker went on to say that, although history writing in Canada has increased and improved, it has not succeeded in reaching the general public which in general does not read books. In this respect the French Canadians have done better than the English Canadians. Canadian historians have been too serious, have lacked imagination in their writing. They should try to reach the general public and try to bind the

various groups together. That will probably be the chief future task of the Canadian historian.

Professor Innis stated that Mr. Kenney's Irish bibliography should have been mentioned. He went on to say that Canadian publishers have been notoriously uninterested in Canadian history. The chief works on Canadian history have been published by American publishers or instigated by them. There is need for stronger support from Canadian publishers.

Dr. Talman remarked upon the number of Canadian students who have gone to the United States, and who are now working on other than Canadian subjects.

Principal Wallace thought that Canadian history might now be going through a stage similar to that being experienced by Canadian painting, i.e., "the structure is being peopled." He recommended the greater use of the sociological approach in history, and indicated Professor Innis's work as an example of what can be done in this way. He said the dryasdust, purely constitutional history is much criticized by students. He stated that present history is being written in a way suitable for the common reader.

CHANGES IN THE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

By J. A. CORRY
Queen's University

THE rapid growth in the functions of central governments is one of the remarkable features of our time. Everyone is familiar with the range which government action had come to cover in Britain, the United States, and Canada by the time war broke out in 1939. Although the time of adoption and the pace of assumption of new functions had varied in the three countries, the patterns of government action were remarkably alike. We know that the development arose out of the frenzied economic and social change which is convulsing the world. It is easy to show that most of the newly adopted functions of the half century before 1939 came about in response to some need for adjustment in social relationships, although it is not so clear that governmental action was always the most appropriate response. Beyond that, we know very little. What lies beyond the proximate causes in the remoter realms of social causation is obscure. Nor is it evident, except to those with prophetic insight, what the political, economic, and social consequences are to be.

It is generally said that the growth of new governmental functions began towards the end of the nineteenth century with the decline of the philosophy of laissez-faire. But a long enough view would probably show that the secular trend of state action has been upward ever since the emergence of the modern nation state. As the physical limitations of time and space were overcome by better communications and the economic surplus necessary for feeding more civil servants grew, more civil servants appeared. Likewise, it could no doubt be shown that there is a close correlation between the development of reliable social and economic statistics and the growth of the functions of central governments. There are numerous other factors involved besides the prevailing political philosophy.

To take the case of Britain, the influence of laissez-faire interrupted the upward trend in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But even here, it is questionable whether it imposed any substantial net reduction in the activities of the central government. There were suggestions for abolishing the Home Office around 1820 but after 1830 new functions for the Home Office were rapidly found in the supervision of factory legislation, prisons, and police. The navigation laws were repealed but the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854 maintained detailed supervision of the shipping industry in a great number of matters. Tariffs were abandoned in favour of free trade but the same generation saw the central government begin the supervision of the poor law, public health, and education. The beginning of railway regulation dates from the same period. The figures on employment in the civil service while perhaps not strictly comparable show a striking increase in the numbers of civil servants between 1832 and 1871—the very period in which laissez-faire had its greatest influence.

This is not so surprising when we remember that while laissez-faire may have been an absolute for the classical economists, it was not so for the genuine Benthamites who exerted a great influence on public policy in this period. The only absolute the Benthamites had was utility and there were

a number of kinds of governmental activity which to their minds satisfied the test of general utility. The great era of laissez-faire saw the relaxing of state control over the general conditions of economic life and thus was of great significance. It did not stop the assumption of new functions by the central government.

Yet the general prejudice of the middle class was against governmental action and as long as they were politically dominant there were no blitzkrieg panzer thrusts through the lines of laissez-faire. It is generally agreed that the decline of the influence of laissez-faire on public policy dates from about 1870. The significant events on the world stage and from the point of view of an economic interpretation of the expansion of governmental functions were the victory of the Northern States in the Civil War and the unification of Germany. These events were the occasions of a resumption of tariff making. The causes of the revived protectionism are, of course, numerous and complex. Not the least important was the impact which the experiment in laissez-faire had already had on different countries in the world. At any rate, the long run effect of the renewed preoccupation with tariff schedules was to dislocate the self-regulating economy and thus prepare the way for innumerable interventions of government. Of more immediate importance as far as Britain was concerned were the extensions of the franchise in 1867 and 1884. The urban and agricultural workers who had little theory but were acutely conscious of needs became a power in the land. One of the first results of the enfranchisement of the urban workers was the repeal of discriminatory laws against trade unions. In the end, this produced pressure groups at least comparable to the lobbyists for tariff favours. It took the newly enfranchised groups some time to realize that government could be made to respond to their demands but the emergence of the Labour party shows that by 1900 the lesson was being learned. Universal suffrage and tariff policies have both been important factors.

Nor were moral attitudes without an influence. Bradley and Green did something more than undermine the laissez-faire philosophy. They asserted the positive duty of the state to ensure the conditions of the good life. There was a quickening of the social conscience in Britain in the later years of the nineteenth century. The early crusading Fabians contributed to the awakening and indicated various means by which the state could come to the aid of the citizen.

From 1870 to the turn of the century there were slow but steady additions to the functions of government. There continued to be a strong presumption against state action and each new addition had to justify itself in the face of strong resistance. After 1900, however, the awakened social conscience and the awakened electorate worked together. Aided by the logic of modern war, they completely routed laissez-faire in the first twenty years of the century.

Naturally, the development in North America was different. Throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, the predominance of agriculture and the open frontier afforded other means of meeting or evading many social and economic difficulties. A wide franchise did not lead to demands for governmental action because the conditions of the good life in the way of ample opportunity seemed already to be provided. Of course, North American governments had certain functions which were peculiarly their own. They helped the enterprising to help themselves by distributing

railway grants, mining concessions, timber limits, and free homesteads. This involved very little officialdom and almost no regulation but it did help to popularize the idea of government as an institution for providing services. Towards the end of the nineteenth century with the closing of the frontier and the rapid pace of industrialization, the forces already at work in Britain began to make themselves felt in America. Despite the experience of the first World War, the upward trend of government activities was much slower than in Britain until the onset of depression in 1930. Thereafter, America rapidly began to make up time, and a pattern of state functions similar to that of Britain took shape before 1940.

There are some grounds for thinking that the period from about 1900 to 1940 is a distinct period in the history of state activities. The marked quickening around the turn of the century shows that the inhibiting influences of laissez-faire, whatever they were, were falling away and that the idea of using the government as an instrument of general adjustment was gaining wide acceptance. It is not yet clear whether the second World War which lifted the relationships of government and society on to a new plane is merely a distracting episode due to abnormal circumstances or whether it marks the beginning of a new dispensation. During the war democratic governments not only extended their activities in relation to social and economic life but their operations changed their character and their objectives. Government was no longer merely an instrument for piecemeal adjustment; it became the expression of a controlling central social purpose. It remains to be seen whether there are forces strong enough to prevent this transformation being decisive and permanent.

For purposes of comment here, at any rate, 1900 to 1940 will be taken as a distinct period, which may be called the period of interventionism. To grasp its distinguishing feature, we must look at the main characteristic of the previous period. In the laissez-faire period, the laws which were made and the governmental action consequent on their making mostly aimed at establishing and maintaining the general conditions of public order. It would be oversimplifying greatly to say that they followed the famous prescription of Adam Smith, particularly in North America where government was actively aiding economic development. Yet in the main they conformed to a general type of which the criminal law is the best example and they partook of a spirit which is best expressed by the slogan, "equal rights for all and special privileges for none." To limit governmental action to the general conditions of public order is to conceive public order very narrowly but it has the merit that restrictions which a man approves for others he adopts for himself, and benefits he gets for himself at public expense automatically extend to all. It makes the golden rule the first principle for the formulation of public policy.

This conception of the role of the state rested on the faith that a human society, given a dependable general framework of public order, can be autonomous and self-regulating, meeting the shock of social dislocations with its own resources and overcoming that shock without imperilling the indispensable foundations of public order and without calling on the peculiar instruments of the state. Whether for sufficient reasons or not, this faith began to weaken towards the end of the nineteenth century. It was not abandoned entirely but it was sharply modified. The resources of society for making social adjustments to rapid economic change came to be regarded

as too weak or too slow in operation to prevent dangerous undermining of the general conditions of public order. It was necessary to seek summary adjustment through governmental action relying on coercion if necessary. Government came to be concerned with particular indirect threats to public order and not merely with its general conditions. This involved repeated and ever-increasing interventions in particular sectors of social life. Yet almost all these interventions assumed the existence of an autonomous social and economic order which needed to be corrected but not superseded. Due either to the survival of the earlier faith or to a residue of unconscious habit, it was not thought necessary for government to take continuous and over-all responsibility for the ordering of social relationships. There is no need to labour the point. The social planners have summed it up in a sentence. There was no plan.

The lack of a plan did not mean, however, the absence of certain proximate objectives. One of the *clichés* of this period was that the negative state of laissez-faire had been succeeded by the positive state aiming at certain limited yet positive objectives. The objectives can be represented as standards of general well-being in the community. They were *minima* and not *maxima*. The government did not set out to make people perfectly healthy or perfectly educated but aimed only to ensure a minimum of public health and public education.

To enumerate all these objectives, it would be necessary to recite most of the additions to the functions of government in the period. But most of the new functions were related to one or more of six principal objectives. Two of them are the obvious ones of public health and public education. The third is physical safety, a serious matter in a crowded society making a wide use of dangerous substances and dangerous machines. Safety regulations in factories and shops and on railways and highways are instances which come immediately to mind. The fourth is social well-being, or some minimum of social justice. Obvious examples are minimum wages, workmen's compensation, and a considerable variety of social services.

The fifth group of government activities is more difficult to label with a word or phrase. With some hesitation, it may be said that the aim was economic efficiency although considerations of social justice were generally influential and sometimes dominant. Furthermore, in relation to this group of activities, organized interest groups made a sharp impact on public policy sometimes distorting the objective. The activities in question are those in which the government intervened directly in the operation of the economy. Except where the government took over the direct operation of economic enterprises, the purpose of the interventions seems to have been to provide conditions in which the private competitive economy would function more effectively.

The first requisite, perhaps, of such an economy is freedom of contract. Genuine freedom of contract, however, requires approximate equality of bargaining power and position. Where one party to the contract is at a decided disadvantage either through necessitous condition, lack of knowledge of market conditions or some other important factor, or through the other party occupying a superior strategic position such as monopoly affords, contract is not free. The weaker party does not genuinely agree but submits to a form of compulsion. The party in the superior position relies on his power as well as, or instead of, the reciprocal *biens* of fair exchange. The

economy does not function freely; its capacity for self-adjustment and its efficiency decline. Interventions by government which reduce somewhat the inequalities of bargaining position help to maintain the autonomous economic and social order.

The regulation of the rates and service of monopolistic public utilities is a classic example. Provisions for dissolving offending trade combines and trusts is another. The fixing of minimum wages and the regulation of small loan sharks will illustrate interventions inspired by necessitous condition. The affirmation by government of the right to collective bargaining by workers, toward which some steps had been taken prior to 1940, is another illustration of the same principle. Grading and marketing legislation helps to protect primary producers with inadequate knowledge of or control over marketing conditions. Regulation of the financial probity of insurance and trust companies which take your money now but do not perform their part in the bargain until, it is to be hoped, many years hence is an instance of inequality arising out of the very nature of the contract itself.

Another group of government activities of a rather different character also minister to the objective of economic efficiency. These rarely involve any element of coercive regulation but consist rather in the provision of services to particular industries. Governmental research, commercial intelligence, and a variety of conservation measures can be said to fall into this category. Conciliation and arbitration of industrial disputes are services designed to prevent or shorten interruptions of production. The most striking instance in North America, at any rate, is the wide range of services provided for agriculture.

The sixth objective has to be described bluntly as effecting by governmental action some change in the distribution of the national income, giving to some groups in the community a larger, and to some a smaller, share in the national income than the unimpeded operations of the market would have provided them. Of course, almost all the governmental functions referred to here affect the ultimate distribution of the national income in some degree. Social security measures, for example, effect significant redistributions of the national income. So in smaller measure do the services provided for agriculture at the expense of the taxpayer. But the group of activities now under consideration effect such changes directly and, in many instances, deliberately and not merely as an incidental by-product of the pursuit of some other objective.

There is no need to explain how tariffs have been used for this purpose. In recent years, the control of currency, credit, and foreign exchange rates has been used to alter subtly the distribution of the national income which might otherwise have been anticipated. Railway rates have been fixed to give a relative advantage to some groups of producers or shippers over others. Governmental fixing of fair wages as distinct from minimum wages, setting a political price for wheat and other products, and measures designed to restrict the supply of particular commodities have similar results. While tariffs are an old story, they were used with greater vigour and more frankly in this period than ever before. The same is true of manipulation of credit and foreign exchange and railway rates. The later years of the period under discussion showed a rapid development of a variety of measures of the character just outlined.

Some of these measures may have contributed to the efficiency of the self-adjusting economy but most of them tended to multiply its difficulties and to call for still further interventions. In so far as they expressed any conscious public policy, it must have been the promotion of social justice. However, we reach here the point where it is hard to find any unified conception of the public interest. Many of these governmental interventions to alter the distribution of the national income are little more than registrations of the results of the push and pull of powerful organized pressure groups.

Indeed, the assigning of a great many of the new functions of government to a few clear-cut objectives of public policy may be largely rationalization after the event. For organized interest groups have played a significant part in the adoption of most of the functions undertaken in this period. Most of these functions if vigorously performed are an immediate benefit to some groups and an immediate burden to others. We have already noted this result as incidental to social security measures and services to agriculture. Workmen's compensation laws, by making industrial accidents one of the costs of production, benefit industrial workers at the expense of consumers. The regulation of public utilities benefits the users of their service at the expense of the enterprisers. There is no need to multiply examples. It may be that, in each case, there are long range benefits to the community as a whole including those on whom the immediate burden falls. However, except in relation to the objectives of public health, education, and safety, the long range benefits are indirect and often difficult to trace and to establish convincingly. I believe them to exist in all the instances just cited but I can name people who do not. Very few people attempt the extended inquiry necessary to trace out the probable effects of such measures. The articulate public in relation to them is largely made up of groups which see in them an immediate advantage or burden. The established practice and expectation of governmental intervention in particular sectors of social life invite those who are immediately affected to introduce calculations of private advantage into their judgments on public policy.

While the necessary data for measuring the part played by organized interests in launching the newer functions of government is not available, we have some important circumstantial evidence. The multiplication of government functions between 1900 and 1940 is paralleled by the multiplication of organized pressure groups and ever more intimate relationships between them and government. There were organized group interests before 1900 but they were much fewer in number and not nearly so effectively organized for offence and defence as they are today. A number of factors encouraged their luxuriant blossoming in this period. Perhaps the most important has been the spectacle of mounting government intervention. When it became evident that there was no longer a stubborn presumption against government intervening in particular aspects of social life, groups of people who were conscious of sharing a common interest which government action might help or hinder, found it expedient to organize, or if already organized, to provide themselves with more effective weapons.

The organized interests have not been content to lobby the government and the legislature and to propagandize the public. They have bargained with political parties for their support. They have sought not without suc-

cess to participate in the administration of those activities of government which directly affected them. In North America, at any rate, there has been a marked tendency for administrative boards and commissions, set up in connection with the newer functions of government, to be made up in part of representatives of the affected interests. Everyone knows that they are constantly demanding still further representation of this kind. A tinge of corporatism has appeared in the administrative structure of democratic government.

Here we reach the question of the effects of the additions to governmental functions on liberal democracy. Prophets of doom are not wanting. There is no need to expound at length the arguments of the remaining supporters of laissez-faire, those unadaptable mastodons who have somehow survived their *milieu*. Governmental interventions in the economy become so numerous and so capricious and taxation becomes so burdensome that they sap the initiative of private enterprise. Those who would have been *entrepreneurs* taking adventurous risks, buy government bonds and fold their hands. Productivity falls and the most frantic efforts of government to stimulate it fail. After some experience of this, the country is ready for a saviour.

Another analysis is offered, which is not specifically Marxian but can be put in modified Marxian terms. It amounts to saying that a new inherent contradiction in liberal democracy has presented itself. The liberal society rests as much on freedom of association as on the other freedoms more frequently emphasized. The autonomous self-regulating social and economic order depends much more on spontaneous collective action through association than on the much touted individualism. It is only through combining with others that individuals can make adjustment to the chances and opportunities of an unpredictable world. The liberal society which abridges freedom of association for purposes which do not offend the criminal law denies itself just as surely as when it abridges freedom of speech. Yet well organized groups cannot resist the temptation to try to bend government to their purposes. When all significant group interests are fully organized, their conflicting demands will destroy any remaining unity and consistency of governmental policy, and governmental interventions in social and economic matters will be determined by the log-rolling of a host of interests. Democratic government responding to the warring clash of interest groups will make short work of the autonomous self-regulating society and, because of its own very nature, will be unable to plan a coherent directed order to put in its place.

Such forecasts as these, resting on assumptions which cannot very well be tested are little more than prophecies, although it must be said that the disordered economic and political conditions of the nineteen-thirties support rather than discredit them. Apart from these questions, however, the wide range of governmental interventions which immediately benefit or prejudice particular groups and the organization of a great variety of group interests to promote or resist particular government activities raise a political problem which deserves more attention than it has had.

The problem arises out of the fact that liberal democracy cannot rely on any authoritative statement of the public interest. Genuinely authoritative formulations can only be given by absolute monarchs and dictators with overwhelming force at their command. The ruling conception of the

public interest in a democracy must be derived from consent because, in the long run, the power of the rulers rests on persuasion. So the public interest can only be described as a succession of tentative formulations groping by trial and error for policies which will win general and lasting approval, with no guarantee that any of them will survive the next election. Lacking general agreement on what to do next there is no peaceful alternative to continuous experiment. This is the justification of political parties and alternating governments. Each party works out a programme which it identifies with the public interest in the hope that a sufficient majority of the electorate can be persuaded to support it.

The parties have never lacked for suggestions about what to do. On the contrary, they have always been embarrassed by the number of divergent and inconsistent proposals clamouring for recognition as public policy. There are always a multitude of plans for saving the country. Yet only a few of these can be adopted at any one time and the problem of the political parties is to find compromise programmes which attract the support of majorities. The task of the parties is always to act as catalytic agents, precipitating majority decisions in a cloudy and confused electorate. This feat sometimes requires hocus-pocus and legerdemain, accounting in great measure for the disrepute of the party system.

Solid majorities which give power to and fasten responsibility on a political party are the only guarantee at any time against organized raids by combinations of interest groups, the only assurance even that the minimum conditions of public order can be met. Democracy has no other resource since it does not accept dictated prescriptions for the public interest. This is the case for having as few parties as possible as long as there are more than one. For numerous parties always bring too many divergent conceptions of the public interest into the legislature and thus increase the bargaining power of narrow interests. It becomes exceedingly difficult to pursue any coherent consistent conception of the public interest. We have only to remember the multiple-party systems of Europe.

American and Canadian experience indicates that even the formal maintenance of the two-party system is not always enough to prevent forays by combinations of pressure groups. For a long time, the older national parties in the two countries have been, to a considerable extent, combinations of sectional and other interest groups and they have been charged periodically either with promoting selfish narrow purposes, or with failing, while in power, to push forward the measures urgently needed in the public interest.

There are two relatively new factors at work which seem likely to increase these dangers. First, the enlargement of government activities enlarges the pork-barrel and fills it with juicier and more succulent hams than ever before. Second, the traditional loyalties on which even Canadian and American parties have depended in the past are steadily disappearing. There was no doubt some naiveté in the rooted allegiances to the principles of the parties of Macdonald and Laurier. But while they existed in considerable numbers they performed a double function. On the one hand, they were some restraint on cynical bargains between the leaders of the parties and the hungry interests. On the other hand, they were a dependable element of party strength and the parties did not need to bid so feverishly for the support of the bargaining groups.

There is no doubt about the decline in sturdy party loyalty although opinions may differ as to how far it has gone. Who will say the national party system in Canada is not already splintered with almost a thousand candidates running for two hundred and forty-five seats? There are grounds for thinking that the national parties in the United States would have broken openly into a number of blocs if it were not necessary to aim at an over-all majority in order to win the Presidency. Various reasons are given for the decline in party loyalty. One of the factors, it may be suggested, is the growth in governmental functions.

One thing is certain; the more activities government undertakes the more various opinions become about what the government is doing. It becomes harder to mobilize majorities which will accept all the diverse activities of government as contributions to the public interest. At the same time, a constantly growing proportion of the population is drawn into highly organized groups whose purpose is to get or prevent particular government action. Every year, more of these organizations establish research divisions one of whose jobs it is to explain to the membership how government action can help or hinder them. Under these circumstances, when everyone sees that the party programmes are largely made up of a series of deals between interest groups, it would be surprising if firm party loyalty continued to be a significant political factor. Thus there is not much doubt that a splintering tendency is at work within the political parties. And even if they do not openly break up, it is becoming increasingly difficult for government to pursue an integrated coherent conception of the public interest.

The difficulty of getting a rationally consistent public policy in the age of interventionism has often been pointed out before. The planlessness, as it were, of governmental action has been one of the factors in the demand for over-all planning. Where government lacks a sense of responsibility for the whole, its whimsical tinkering in response to dispersive pressures is dangerous and may be disastrous. This is no doubt true but it is questionable whether those who want an over-all plan are sufficiently aware of the basic reason for the planlessness, namely, the intense difficulty of getting and implementing a comprehensive unified conception of the public interest in a democracy.

The social confusion of the period of interventionism made the idea of over-all planning extremely attractive. It seemed to call for a unified conception of the public interest which remains stable over a long period and to which all governmental action is rationally related. The opportunity, or rather the necessity, to try it came with World War II. A single dominating purpose, a crystallization of the public interest, emerged in the winning of the war and government planned comprehensively for that end. It has been highly successful. Confusion and frustration came to an end with great productivity and substantial advances in social justice. The planners in all political camps are elated and they have lost no opportunity of impressing the lesson on the electorate. The most modest objective they will accept for the future is full employment. The current response of all political parties suggests that the idea has been sold to the electorate. That is why I have ventured to say that 1940 may well have been the end of the period of casual interventionism.

Unless strong expansionary influences not depending on governmental initiative come to the rescue, it will be impossible to reach the objective of

full employment by the kind of interventionism practised in the past. It will probably require more planning than most people anticipate. Government will have to take the responsibility for integration of the economy and the ordering of social life. Reliance on an autonomous self-regulating society will no longer be possible. This will make the conscious formulation and unifying of public policy the first imperative of our lives. Democracies have never done the job too well. Their most effective instrument for doing it has been the two-party system. Under conditions which threaten to disintegrate the parties, we shall need more than ever before solid electoral majorities which will not flinch or waver in their support when government undertakes the painful adjustments for which it has largely evaded responsibility in the past.

It is true that the objective of winning the war got almost universal acceptance. Yet there is plenty of evidence of a widespread divergence of views about the appropriateness and the justice of many of the means chosen to accomplish the end. There are indications that many measures were accepted with bad grace by the groups concerned and only because they were thought to be temporary emergency measures. It will be surprising if this muzzled resentment does not express itself at the polls. Moreover, we have no way of estimating to what extent both ends and means were accepted because of fear or other emotional compulsions which would not operate in time of peace. In our experience of the last five years, there is not a great deal to justify us in believing that we as an electorate can give steady adherence over a long period to a comprehensive unified conception of the public interest. But perhaps all this merely confirms a statement made at the beginning that it takes prophetic insight to trace the outcome of the great changes in the functions of government.

THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY DISPUTE

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THE Alaskan boundary dispute arose between Canada and the United States over the boundary of the long strip of territory dangling down the British Columbian coast from Alaska and known as the Alaskan Panhandle. The dispute was one of interpretation of the terms of a treaty signed by the representatives of Russia and Great Britain on February 28, 1825. The United States by its purchase of Alaska in 1867 succeeded to the Russian rights of territory under the treaty of 1825 and Canada by the entrance of British Columbia into the Canadian union in 1871 acquired British rights of territory under that treaty.

The line of demarcation was described in Articles 3 and 4 of the treaty as follows:

Commencing from the southermost point of the island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees north latitude, and between the 131st and 133rd degree of west longitude (Meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude; from this last-mentioned point, the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude (of the same meridian); and finally from the said point of intersection the said meridian line of the 141st degree, in its prolongation as far as the Frozen ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British possessions on the continent of America to the North-west.

IV. With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood:

First. That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia.

Second. That whenever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast, from the 56th degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than 10 marine leagues from the coast, the limit between the British possessions and the line of the coast which is to belong to Russia, as above mentioned, shall be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of 10 marine leagues therefrom.

The treaty of 1825 established a line of demarcation between Russian and British possessions in an area that was remote from Europe and a subject of interest at that time only to a few fur-traders and explorers. When the treaty was signed knowledge of the geographical features of the area was limited to surveys of the coastal waters made by navigators and consequently the definition of the inland boundary lacked precision.

The ambiguities of the treaty were revealed as the activities of traders and prospectors slowly laid bare the topography of the Panhandle. It gradually became clear that the area contained no well-defined range of

mountains and was in fact a sea of mountains.¹ A series of boundary incidents on the Stikine River and on Lynn Canal made it evident by 1885 that the description of the boundary contained in the treaty of 1825 was not strictly applicable to the ground traversed.² By 1888 there emerged a clear-cut difference of opinion between Canadians and Americans on the meaning of the boundary provisions that were to be applied. Conversations held in Washington in February of that year between Dr. G. M. Dawson, Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, and Mr. W. H. Dall of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey revealed that the officials of both countries who were most immediately concerned with the location of the boundary held widely different interpretations of the boundary terms of the treaty of 1825.³ Dr. Dawson believed that the treaty contemplated a boundary drawn along the summit of the mountains arising immediately from the shore of the sea and that in any case the line should be drawn without reference to the numerous inlets which pierce the coast. Mr. Dall held that Russia had sought and obtained by the treaty an unbroken coastal strip and that the boundary line must be drawn from the heads of the inlets. The Dall-Dawson conversations were, however, purely unofficial and the differences of opinion which they disclosed were not translated into official policy on the part of either government for another decade.

Although the exact location of specific points of the Alaskan boundary occasioned intermittent controversy between the governments of Great Britain and the United States, during the second half of the nineteenth century, the location of the boundary as a whole and the meaning of the boundary terms of the treaty of 1825 were not made subjects of vigorous governmental disputes until the end of the century. In 1896 gold was discovered in the valley of the Klondike River. The subsequent rush of gold-seekers through the Alaskan Panhandle into the Canadian Yukon created serious problems of law enforcement for the Canadian authorities. Their difficulties were increased by the fact that the Canadian government could not send any militia or police to the Yukon except through the Alaskan Panhandle and with the consent of the United States government. Canadian leaders were soon alive to the need for an all-Canadian route and the government brought forward a plan to have a railway built from a point on the headwaters of the Stikine River to Dawson City which would provide direct communication between British Columbia and the Yukon.⁴

The defeat of the Yukon Railway Bill at the hands of the Senate concentrated attention on the alternative possibility of obtaining for Canada a port on Lynn Canal, the main entry from the sea to the gold-fields. Dyea and Skagway, the two principal ports at the head of Lynn Canal were in American hands. Mr. Clifford Sifton, Canadian Minister of the Interior, speaking in the House of Commons on February 15, 1898, admitted that

¹*Proceedings of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal* (7 vols., Washington, 1904), III, pt. II, 323-4, W. H. Dall to G. M. Dawson, April 24, 1884. (*Proceedings of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal* hereinafter cited as *A.B.T.*)

²*A.B.T.*, III, pt. II, 324-30. Secretary Bayard to E. J. Phelps, November 20, 1885.

³*A.B.T.*, IV, pt. II, 94-113, Mr. Dall to Secretary Bayard, February 13 and December 11, 1888, with accompanying memoranda; *A.B.T.*, III, pt. II, 338-43, Dr. Dawson to Sir Charles Tupper, February 7 and 11, 1888.

⁴A full account of the circumstances surrounding the Yukon railway project may be found in John W. Dafoe's *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times* (Toronto, 1931), chap. VI.

the United States had been "in undisputed possession of them for some time past" but supported Canadian claim to ownership of the summits of White and Chilkat passes behind the two ports.⁵

Several months later, Mr. Sifton wrote to Sir Wilfrid Laurier who was then attending the Quebec sessions of the Joint High Commission and urged the Prime Minister to bargain with the American delegates for a port on Lynn Canal.⁶ He regarded the acquisition of such a port as essential to the development of Canadian trade with the Yukon and although he had no hope that this could be achieved by submitting the Alaskan boundary dispute to an arbitral commission he thought a bargain might be arranged if the question of a Canadian port were linked with an offer by Canada to relax her rights in the matter of pelagic sealing.

Pending final settlement of the issue the British and American governments agreed in May, 1898, to establish a provisional boundary on the summit of the watershed at the head of Lynn Canal.⁷ The whole question was then placed on the agenda of the Joint High Commission appointed to settle certain issues outstanding between Canada and the United States. Lord Salisbury in his instructions to the British and Canadian members of the Commission, indicated that the British government had been prompted to press for an early settlement of the question for two special reasons: first, the influx of miners through the Panhandle into the Yukon had created the need of a Customs frontier on the coastal inlets; second, the whole Panhandle was believed to be auriferous and the discovery of large quantities of gold in the disputed territory would give rise to serious difficulties.⁸

With its inclusion in the agenda of the Joint High Commission the Alaskan boundary dispute entered upon a new and more exciting phase. The problem of locating the boundary had hitherto engaged the attention only of a few government officials and local interests and it had therefore been largely confined to a few quiet backwaters of Anglo-American relations. Now, however, the flood of miners into the Klondike had swept the Alaskan boundary question into the mainstream of the relations between the British Empire and the United States. It thus became impossible to treat the dispute as an isolated problem to be dealt with solely on its own merits. A solution *in vacuo* was no longer possible; settlement of the question would be determined by the general climate of Anglo-American relations and would affect and be affected by other issues disturbing those relations.

In the closing years of the nineteenth century Anglo-American relations were growing warmer under pressure.⁹ The spectre of a Europe dividing into two great armed camps both of which looked with envious eyes upon the fruits of British imperial activity, convinced many British statesmen of the inadequacies of a policy of "splendid isolation" and of the need to seek outside support in keeping open the sea-lanes which knit together the widely scattered British Empire. But if the gradual disintegration of the

⁵*Canada: House of Commons, Debates*, 1898, February 11, 1898, I, 407.

⁶Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton*, 171, Clifford Sifton to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, October, 1898.

⁷*A.B.T.*, III, pt. II, 376, memorandum prepared by Sir Julian Pauncefote, April 18, 1898; *ibid.*, 377, Secretary Day to Sir Julian Pauncefote, May 9, 1898.

⁸*Ibid.*, 384-6, Lord Salisbury to the High Commissioners, July 19, 1898.

⁹A full account of this development may be found in Lionel M. Gelber, *The Rise of Anglo-American Friendship: A Study in World Politics 1898-1906* (London, 1938), chaps. I, II, and *passim*.

concert of Europe and the rising might of Germany did, as Henry Adams claimed it did, "frighten England into America's arms,"¹⁰ those arms were no longer reluctant to receive British attentions.

With the passing of the frontier as a safety valve in American life, Americans came to have a new appreciation of the value of an overseas as distinct from a continental empire. The United States emerged from the Spanish-American War an imperial power whose colonial responsibilities in the Caribbean and the far Pacific made it difficult for her to maintain her old position of aloofness from world affairs. At the same time she discovered that her departure from isolation at the expense of Spain had aroused the disapproval of the nations of Europe with the exception of Great Britain. British friendliness was appreciated by American statesmen and a common interest in the White Man's Burden drew the two nations together so that it appeared to at least one Washington diplomatist that "the old pirate and the young pirate are joining forces for moral support." If these foundations of an Anglo-American *rapprochement* were to be extended and strengthened it was necessary to remove all sources of serious friction from the relations of the two countries. In the light of this necessity, the issues outstanding in Anglo-American diplomacy acquired a new and urgent significance.

The Joint High Commission had been appointed to deal with a number of these issues arising out of the field of Canadian-American relations. Foremost among those remaining within the larger sphere of Anglo-American relations was that of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama.

The growing desire of the United States for an Isthmian canal received a tremendous stimulus from the Spanish-American War. The general lack of sympathy abroad for the American cause and the need to safeguard their latest territorial acquisitions convinced many Americans of the need for a canal which would make possible the rapid concentration of American naval forces in the Atlantic or Pacific Oceans. Such a canal could be built only with the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. By its terms Great Britain and the United States had agreed that neither was to build a canal through Central America without the consent of the other. Great Britain had held firmly to her rights under the treaty and had insisted that those rights did not admit the United States to exclusive control of an Isthmian canal.¹¹ But the demonstrations of British friendliness during the war with Spain made the end of the war appear to be a propitious time for the United States government to propose revision of the treaty. Lord Salisbury received the proposal very favourably and agreed in principle that an Isthmian canal should be built under the sole protection of the United States government. But he was not prepared to consent to this modification of British rights without compensation. The American proposal was made at a time when the British and American members of the Joint High Commission stood in sharp disagreement on the subject of the Alaskan boundary. Lord Salisbury, seeking a lever with which to move the American commissioners from their position on that question, argued

¹⁰Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston, 1918), 363.

¹¹R. B. Mowat, *The Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and the United States* (London, 1925), 226-31.

that British concessions on the Isthmian canal question should be made a *quid pro quo* for American concessions on the Alaskan boundary.¹²

Disagreement on this question had arisen early in the meetings of the Joint High Commission. It had been referred to a committee composed of Lord Herschell, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Senator Fairbanks, and General Foster and the committee had divided on national lines with respect to the true interpretation of the treaty of 1825.¹³ When it became clear that further argument would not shake the confidence of either side in the strength of its case several attempts were made to reach a compromise settlement. The most promising of these was a proposal by the British commissioners that the line should be drawn so as to give the United States the whole of the territory bordering on Lynn Canal except Pyramid Harbour and a strip of land from that port to the boundary line, thus securing for Canada access to the Yukon by the Dalton Trail.¹⁴ The remainder of the boundary was to be drawn "in the main conformable to the contention of the United States."¹⁵

In response to the suggestion by President McKinley that British consent to revision of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty hung in the balance, the American commissioners were prepared to receive the British proposal favourably. Although they objected to several of its terms, it appeared for a time that the details would be adjusted and the compromise plan accepted. But the scheme was halted just short of fulfilment. Willingness to compromise on the part of the American commissioners had been induced largely by pressure from abroad; it was now to appear in response to pressure at home. When news of the proposed surrender of Pyramid Harbour leaked out, American shipowners on the Pacific coast, fearing that the existence of a Canadian port on the Yukon would endanger their monopoly of the carrying trade with the Yukon, lodged a strong protest with the United States government.¹⁶ President McKinley was standing for re-election in the following year and his commissioners therefore withdrew their acceptance of the compromise plan.

With their failure to agree either on the meaning of the treaty of 1825 or on a compromise settlement the commissioners fell back on an attempt to find an acceptable method of resolving the dispute by arbitration. Once again their efforts met with no success. The American commissioners insisted on an even-numbered tribunal and the British held out for an odd-numbered tribunal along the lines of the Venezuela Boundary Commission.

Failure to resolve the Alaskan boundary question brought the Joint High Commission to an impasse and prevented final settlement of the other issues before it. The Commission therefore adjourned, and as it never

¹² Allan Nevins, *Henry White: Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1930), 145, Henry White to Secretary Hay, December 23, 1898; Gelber, *Rise of Anglo-American Friendship*, 42 ff.

¹³ The record of the attempts made by the Joint High Commission to settle the dispute is to be found in *Foreign Office Correspondence Respecting the Proceedings of the Joint Commission for the Settlement of Questions Pending Between the United States and Canada* (hereinafter cited as F.O. Correspondence etc.).

¹⁴ F. O. Correspondence etc., 156 ff., "Draft Article Respecting the Alaska Boundary," given by the British commissioners to Senator Fairbanks, February 2, 1898.

¹⁵ John W. Foster, "The Alaskan Boundary" (*National Geographic Magazine*, X, 455).

¹⁶ Charles C. Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations 1875-1911* (New Haven, 1943), 180, American Ship-owners to Senator George C. Perkins, February 2, 1899.

reconvened, the Alaskan boundary was thrown back into the ordinary channels of diplomacy.

In the months that followed the adjournment of the Joint High Commission it proved difficult to inject new life into the Alaskan boundary negotiations which had run such an exhausting course in the sessions of the Commission. The newly-born Anglo-American *rapprochement* had received a setback and tempers were wearing thin in both North American capitals.¹⁷

But Secretary Hay was determined that no obstacle should be allowed to hinder the development of friendlier relations between the United States and Great Britain and he patiently gathered up the scattered threads of diplomacy for another attempt to solve the troublesome boundary question. His resolution was fortified by rumours of impending disorders on the unsettled frontier and by the knowledge that upon the success of his efforts depended the fate of the revised Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

In April, 1899, Hay renewed the proposal made by the American members of the Joint High Commission to refer the question to an even-numbered tribunal of arbitration.¹⁸ The British government repeated its objection that this plan contained the possibility of deadlock and again recommended that the dispute be settled along the lines insisted upon by the United States in the Venezuela boundary dispute, that is, by an odd-numbered tribunal. Secretary Hay now felt that this offer was "about as good a one as we can get" and he was disposed to accept it until the Canadian government attempted to attach to it a clause providing that Pyramid Harbour should be given to Canada irrespective of the decision of the tribunal.¹⁹ Hay regarded this condition as utterly inadmissible and the British offer was rejected.²⁰

In July the British government once again put forward the plan of an odd-numbered tribunal but this time accompanied it with an alternative proposal very similar to one which had been discussed in the meetings of the Joint High Commission. It was now proposed that the United States grant to Canada a perpetual lease of half a square mile of territory at a suitable point on Lynn Canal with the right to construct and maintain exclusive control over a railway from the concession to the Canadian border.²¹ Secretary Hay was delighted. He believed that the lease arrangement would decide the whole question in favour of the United States because "the very act of granting a lease implies unquestionable possession."²² President McKinley and his Cabinet agreed that it was a "reasonable solution" provided that the details could be arranged so as to protect American

¹⁷Gelber, *Rise of Anglo-American Friendship*, 46; John Buchan, *The Earl of Minto* (London, 1924), 168; the Earl of Minto to Arthur Elliott, August, 1899; W. R. Thayer, *John Hay* (Boston, 1916) II, 205-6, Secretary Hay to Ambassador Choate, April 28, 1899.

¹⁸Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 190, Secretary Hay to Ambassador Choate, April 19, 1899.

¹⁹Tyler Dennett, *John Hay* (New York, 1933), 229; Secretary Hay to Ambassador Choate, May 1, 1899; A.B.T., IV, pt. II, 125; Lord Salisbury to Ambassador Choate, May 17, 1899; Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 192.

²⁰Thayer, *John Hay*, 206-7, Secretary Hay to Ambassador Choate, June 15, 1899. ²¹Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 107, Ambassador Choate to Secretary Hay, July 18, 1899.

²²A. L. P. Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy* (New York, 1928), 149-50, Secretary Hay to Senator C. K. Davis, August 4, 1899.

shipping interests and safeguard American sovereignty over the area to be leased. But Senator Davis, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was firmly of the opinion that the lease arrangement would not command the two-thirds majority necessary for its ratification by the Senate and on his advice the British suggestion was dropped.²³

The abandonment of the lease arrangement temporarily exhausted the resources of Anglo-American statesmanship with respect to the Alaskan boundary. In October a provisional boundary was arranged for the area at the head of Lynn Canal²⁴ but further progress toward the establishment of a permanent boundary could not be made until the operation of forces external to the dispute should alter the bargaining strength of the parties thereto.

In the autumn of 1899 forces were set in motion that were to break the deadlock. The Boer War broke out on October 10. The nations of Europe, never displeased to hear of discord within the British Empire, responded to the news of early British disasters in a manner strongly reminiscent of Kaiser Wilhelm's telegram of 1896. To Great Britain, strongly resentful of being compelled to play Goliath to President Kruger's David, the benevolent neutrality of the United States stood out in bright contrast to the strongly disapproving attitude of the nations of Europe. As the splendour of British isolation faded rapidly amid the encircling gloom of European hostility, the British government learned to place a rising premium on the value of American friendship. British statesmen grew increasingly sensitive to the advantages of removing all obstacles to the development of that friendship. Of the issues outstanding between the two nations, the unsolved riddle of the Isthmian canal remained the most important. The canal problem could be solved by obtaining British consent to the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. In the negotiations which had taken place on that subject since December, 1898, the British government had shown a persistent disposition to make revision of the treaty conditional upon a settlement of the Alaskan boundary question. Failure to provide for a final settlement of that question had brought to a standstill negotiations upon the canal treaty. Into these negotiations new life was forcibly injected by the introduction into Congress in January, 1900, of a bill empowering the United States government to "excavate, construct and protect" an Isthmian canal. Secretary Hay condemned the Canal Bill as a violation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty but he took advantage of the situation to urge upon Lord Salisbury the desirability of forestalling the Bill by immediate joint revision of the treaty.²⁵ Lord Salisbury was convinced of the need of doing everything possible to cultivate American friendship but he realized that if he yielded unconditionally to American demands for revision of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty he would thereby surrender Canada's most important bargaining counter in the Alaskan boundary negotiations.²⁶ It was particularly difficult for him to make this surrender at a time when Canada's

²³Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 200, Senator C. K. Davis to Secretary Hay, July 31, 1899.

²⁴The text of the *modus vivendi* of October 20, 1899, will be found in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1899, pp. 330-1.

²⁵Thayer, John Hay, 222-3, Secretary Hay to Ambassador Choate, January 15, 1900.

²⁶Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 215, Ambassador Choate to Secretary Hay, January 27, 1900.

assistance in an imperial war gave her additional claims to consideration by the mother country. But his desire for Anglo-American solidarity finally overbore these reservations and he appealed to the Canadian government to give its consent to a new canal treaty.²⁷ This consent the Canadian government gave, though reluctantly, and the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was signed on February 5, 1900. The new treaty was ratified by the Senate only after three amendments were added which materially altered its character. Great Britain refused to accept the amended treaty but a new treaty was concluded on November 18, 1901, and it proved acceptable both to the British government and to the American Senate.

The settlement of the Isthmian canal question had profound effects on the diplomatic strength of Great Britain and the United States in their relations to one another. Great Britain emerged from the settlement with strong claims to American gratitude but with the loss of a powerful bargaining counter in her relations with the United States. The finality of the settlement ensured to the United States greater independence in her future relations with Great Britain. Upon the settlement of the Alaskan boundary question, the State Department with its international position no longer exposed to attack on the Panama flank could now bring to bear its diplomatic big guns. But the Foreign Office, to whose position the canal question had been a diplomatic outwork, found that its surrender weakened the resistance that could be offered to attack at other points along the line of empire.

Already in May, 1901, Secretary Hay had renewed his proposal to submit the dispute to arbitration by an even-numbered tribunal.²⁸ The Canadian government was still disinclined to accept such an arrangement and replied in November with a suggestion that the dispute be referred to a tribunal with two neutral arbitrators.²⁹ But in the meantime the assassination of President McKinley in September had brought Theodore Roosevelt and his "incalculable impetuosity" into the White House. Mr. Roosevelt was convinced that the Canadian case did not "have a leg to stand on" and that it was "dangerously close to blackmail."³⁰ He was vigorously opposed to any arbitration of the dispute and the negotiations in search of an acceptable method of arbitration were therefore discontinued. But two years later, incidents in the gold-fields made him change his mind.

Roosevelt's first inclination was to "let sleeping dogs lie" but rumours of disorder in the Klondike and at the head of Lynn Canal prompted him in May, 1902, to dispatch troops to south-eastern Alaska for police purposes.³¹ The presence of American troops on the boundary aroused grave misgivings on the part of the British and Canadian governments and at the end of June Lord Lansdowne urged Ambassador Choate to discuss the whole question

²⁷Mowat, *Diplomatic Relations of Britain and United States*, 279-80, Joseph Chamberlain to the Earl of Minto, January 30, 1900.

²⁸Canada Sessional Paper No. 46a, 3-4 Edward VII, A. 1904, 31-4, "Draft Arbitration Convention," communicated unofficially by Mr. Hay and forwarded by Lord Pauncefote, May 10, 1901.

²⁹Ibid., 35-7, the Earl of Minto to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, November 6, 1901.

³⁰T. A. Bailey, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Alaska Boundary Settlement" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XVIII, 124, President Roosevelt to J. St. Loe Strachey, July 18, 1902.

³¹Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy*, 143, President Roosevelt to Ambassador Choate, January, 1902; Philip C. Jessup, *Elihu Root* (New York, 1938), I, 391-2, George B. Cortelyou to Secretary Root, March 27, 1902.

with Sir Wilfrid Laurier who was then in London.³² Both Choate and Henry White had conversations with Sir Wilfrid and found him anxious for a prompt settlement of the dispute and ready to accept the American proposal for arbitration by an even-numbered tribunal.³³ The arbitration convention was signed on January 24, 1903.³⁴ By its terms the Alaskan boundary dispute was to be referred for settlement to a tribunal consisting of "six impartial jurists of repute, who shall consider judicially the questions submitted to them, each of whom shall first subscribe on oath that he will impartially consider the arguments and evidence presented to the tribunal, and will decide thereupon according to his own true judgment." Three members of the tribunal were to be appointed by the President of the United States and three by His Britannic Majesty. All questions considered by the tribunal were to be decided by "a majority of all the members" and the decision of the tribunal was to be final. The tribunal was to consider and decide seven questions relating to the meaning of Articles III, IV, and V of the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1825 and it was also to consider any acts of the several governments before or after the treaties of 1825 and 1867 which throw light on the original understanding of the parties as to the limits of their respective territorial jurisdictions under these treaties.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was able to secure prompt ratification of the treaty by the American Senate on February 11, 1903, after he had disclosed in confidence to his fellow Senators the names of the men whom the President intended to appoint to the tribunal and thereby satisfied their demand that no one should be appointed who would yield on the American claim.³⁵ On February 14 the British government was informed that President Roosevelt would appoint to the tribunal Secretary of War Root, Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, and Senator George Turner of Washington.³⁶ By no reasonable interpretation of the terms of reference could these gentlemen properly be described as "impartial jurists of repute." Root was a cabinet member of the government of one of the parties to the dispute; Lodge had repeatedly expressed himself as hostile to the Canadian claims;³⁷ and Turner represented in the Senate that state which was most interested in securing a full confirmation of the American claims. The character of these appointments was a breach of faith and of contract on the part of the United States government. It was determined partly by the need to nominate persons acceptable to the Senate and partly by the President's conception of the nature and purpose of the tribunal. Mr. Roosevelt did not regard the tribunal set up under the treaty of January, 1903, as an arbitral tribunal in the sense in which that term was usually employed in international law.³⁸

³²Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 224, D. J. Hill to Ambassador Choate, telegram, June 30, 1902.

³³Nevins, *Henry White*, 192-3, Henry White to Secretary Hay, June 28, 1902; Dennett, *John Hay*, 457-9, Ambassador Choate to Secretary Hay, July 5, 1903.

³⁴The text of the treaty may be found in *A.B.T.*, II, 1-6.

³⁵"Memoir of H. C. Lodge" (*Transactions of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, April, 1925) as quoted by James White, "Harry Cabot Lodge and the Alaska Boundary Award" (*Canadian Historical Review*, December 1, 1925, 334).

³⁶*A.B.T.*, V, pt. IV, 21, Sir Michael Herbert to Lord Lansdowne, February 14, 1903.

³⁷See, for example, Senator Lodge in a speech to the electors of Northampton, Massachusetts, October 16, 1902, as quoted by *Manitoba Free Press*, February 24, 1903.

³⁸T. A. Bailey, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Alaska Boundary Settlement," (*Canadian Historical Review*, XVIII, June, 1937, 124-5), President Roosevelt to F. W. Holls, February 3, 1903.

He had flatly refused to expose what he felt were the irrefutable claims of the United States to any possibility of compromise at the hands of a tribunal with a neutral umpire. He had consented to refer the dispute to an even-numbered tribunal from which the United States need not fear an adverse decision and he had done so in order to facilitate a favourable settlement of the dispute by providing the British government with a means of escape from what he believed to be an untenable position. It is therefore not surprising that he should have nominated to the tribunal three experienced politicians on whom he could rely to uphold unflinchingly the American case.

The Canadian government lodged a strong protest with the British government and Sir Wilfrid Laurier made a personal appeal to Secretary Hay urging the unsuitability of the American appointments.³⁹ But Sir Michael Herbert, British Ambassador to Washington asserted that the President had "got his back up" and advised that it would be useless to protest.⁴⁰ The British government therefore made no formal protest against the appointments and ratified the treaty.

On March 7 the British government on the recommendation of the Canadian government appointed to the tribunal Lord Alverstone, the Lord Chief Justice of England, Mr. Justice Armour of the Supreme Court of Canada, and Sir Louis Jetté, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec and formerly puisné judge of the Superior Court of Quebec. On the death of Mr. Justice Armour in July, Mr. A. B. Aylesworth, a leader of the Ontario Bar who was in England at the time, was appointed in his stead.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1903 while the British and American cases were being prepared for presentation to the tribunal in the autumn, President Roosevelt took particular care that no one who could possibly influence the decision of the tribunal should remain unaware of his attitude toward the dispute. In letters to each of the American commissioners, to Mr. Justice Holmes, and to Henry White the President made it perfectly clear that he considered the American case to be impregnable, that he regarded the tribunal solely as a device to enable the British government to escape gracefully from an impossible position, and that if the tribunal failed to decide in favour of the American contention he intended to ignore its decision and run the line, by force if necessary, in accordance with the American contention.⁴¹ In view of the general climate of Anglo-American relations the leaders of the British government to whom the letters to Holmes, Lodge, and White were shown, could not fail to respond to such vigorous brandishment of the big stick.

The tribunal sat in London and heard the arguments of counsel from September 15 to October 8. During those days "the undercurrents of

³⁹Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton*, 220, the Earl of Minto to the Earl of Onslow, February 19, 1903; *A.B.T.*, V, pt. iv, 22, same to same, February 21, 1903; Dennett, *John Hay*, 357-8, Sir Wilfrid Laurier to Secretary Hay, February 24, 1903.

⁴⁰Lord Newton, *Lord Lansdowne* (London, 1929), 262-3, Sir Michael Herbert to Lord Lansdowne, February 21, 1903.

⁴¹Jessup, *Elihu Root*, I, 395, President Roosevelt to Messrs. Root, Lodge, and Turner, March 25, 1903; James White, "Henry Cabot Lodge," 340-1, President Roosevelt to Senator Lodge, July 16, 1903 and August 16, 1903; J. B. Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Times Shown in His Own Letters* (New York, 1920), I, 259-61, President Roosevelt to Mr. Justice Holmes, July 25, 1903; Nevins, *Henry White*, 199, President Roosevelt to Henry White, September 26, 1903.

diplomacy," as Henry White described them,⁴² moved to shape the decision of the tribunal as they had molded its structure and composition. Whenever Lord Alverstone showed signs of differing from his American colleagues that fact was reported to the White House and President Roosevelt resorted to the familiar device of diplomatic pressure. Through the offices of Ambassador Choate, Henry White, and Senator Lodge the President did his best to persuade A. J. Balfour that failure of the tribunal to reach a decision would have very serious effects on Anglo-American relations because in the event of a deadlock he would not consent to arbitration of the dispute but would treat the disputed territory as American soil.⁴³ The evidence shows that on at least two occasions the British Prime Minister in conversation informed Lord Alverstone of the President's attitude.⁴⁴ This is not to suggest that Lord Alverstone's findings were wholly or even principally the product of diplomatic pressure; but it is to say that it would have been extremely difficult for any man appointed as the English member of the tribunal, knowing the character of the American appointments and aware of the operation of political forces behind the judicial façade, to persuade himself that the method of settlement being employed was entirely judicial (in the strict sense) and that he must remain uninfluenced by considerations of expediency as distinct from considerations of law.

The tribunal was asked to answer seven questions. The most important was the fifth; it asked whether it was the intention of the treaty of 1825 that Russia should receive a continuous strip of coast, not exceeding the marine leagues in width, separating the British possessions from the bays, ports, inlets, havens, and waters of the ocean, and extending from a point on the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude to a point where the boundary should intersect the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude. This was the crux of the whole dispute and the evidence to support the American contention on this question was very strong if not conclusive.

The United States requested the tribunal to answer the fifth question in the affirmative and fortified its request by a detailed analysis of the negotiations leading up to the treaty of 1825.⁴⁵ American counsel contended that Russia's chief interest had been to protect the monopoly of the Russian American Company to the fur trade of the north-west coast and to prevent the founding of any foreign fur-trading establishments on the islands or inland waters of the coast north of 55° latitude north. It was for this reason that the Russian government had issued the ukase of 1821 prohibiting foreign vessels from approaching within one hundred Italian miles of the coast of the continent and it was for this reason that the Russian government strove in the negotiations to erect a territorial barrier between her coastal possessions and the inland dominions of Great Britain. American counsel

⁴² Nevins, *Henry White*, 200-1, Henry White to Secretary Hay, October 20, 1903.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 199-200, President Roosevelt to Henry White, September 26, 1903, and Henry White to Secretary Hay, October 20, 1903; "Memoir of H. C. Lodge" as quoted by James White, "Henry Cabot Lodge," 335; Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 258-9, Ambassador Choate to Secretary Hay, October 20, 1903.

⁴⁴ Nevins, *Henry White*, 200, Henry White to Secretary Hay, October 20, 1903; Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 258-9, Ambassador Choate to Secretary Hay, October 20, 1903.

⁴⁵ *A.B.T.*, I, pt. II, 29-65 and IV, pt. I, 40 ff.

argued convincingly that these purposes Russia achieved in the treaty of 1825.

The United States held that the central aim of Great Britain had been to preserve the free navigation of the high seas and therefore to secure the renunciation of the extravagant Russian claims to maritime jurisdiction contained in the ukase of 1821. As a secondary objective Britain had sought to confine Russian territory to the west of the Rocky Mountains and as far north as possible on the coast in order to secure a large area for the future operations of the Hudson's Bay Company and an uninterrupted outlet for its furs to the Pacific. By the treaty of 1825 Britain had obtained the renunciation by Russia of her maritime pretensions and prevented the extension of Russian territory as far east as the Rocky Mountains, but had failed to push the southern boundary of the Russian strip any farther north than 55°. American counsel argued very powerfully that Great Britain had failed to obtain any rights with respect to the Russian *lisière* other than the right in perpetuity to navigate the rivers and streams which crossed its eastern boundary and the right for ten years to frequent the interior seas, gulfs, havens, and creeks along the coast of the *lisière*.

British counsel were unable to combat this argument effectively⁴⁶ and the tribunal upheld the American contention by a majority of four to two, Lord Alverstone siding with the American commissioners. Although the Commission went on to draw a mountain boundary line that was a compromise between the British and American contentions there can be little doubt that there was ample evidence to sustain the majority in favour of an unbroken coastal strip belonging to the United States. It was with respect to the answer which the majority gave to the comparatively unimportant second question that the award of the tribunal betrayed most clearly the influence of political forces.

The second question asked: "What channel is Portland Channel?" Great Britain contended very strongly that Portland Channel was that body of water discovered and named by Vancouver and running to the north of four islands, Pearse, Wales, Sitklan, and Kaunaghunut.⁴⁷ The United States argued that Portland Channel was the body of water running to the south of the four islands.⁴⁸ During the proceedings Lord Alverstone had informed his Canadian colleagues that on this question he considered the British case irrefutable and had intimated that he would prepare an opinion to this effect which they might sign. On October 12 he had read to the tribunal a memorandum embodying the views of the three British commissioners on the subject of Portland Channel.⁴⁹ His Canadian colleagues were therefore astounded when at the meeting of the tribunal on October 17, Lord Alverstone voted with the American commissioners that Portland Channel after passing to the north of Pearse and Wales Islands flows between Wales and Sitklan and enters the sea to the south of Sitklan and Kaunaghunut. The majority decision on this question was manifestly a compromise since the four islands had been treated as an entity throughout

⁴⁶ *A.B.T.*, III, pt. I, 73-6; *A.B.T.*, IV, pt. I, 31-42; *A.B.T.*, IV, pt. II, 26-55; *A.B.T.*, V, pt. I, 65-99; *A.B.T.*, V, pt. II, 35-43.

⁴⁷ *A.B.T.*, III, pt. I, 51-69; *A.B.T.*, III, pt. II, 196-208; *A.B.T.*, IV, pt. II, 15-20; *A.B.T.*, IV, pt. III, 18-22; *A.B.T.*, V, pt. II, 12-18.

⁴⁸ *A.B.T.*, IV, pt. I, 8-17, 25-6; *A.B.T.*, V, pt. I, 39-45.

⁴⁹ Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton*, 230.

the proceedings by British and American counsel alike. To the American commissioners Lord Alverstone's *volte-face* was no surprise. Determined to push their country's claims to the limit they had, at the last moment, insisted that unless a division were made of the Portland Channel islands they would refuse to sign the award.⁵⁰ The Chief Justice, fearful of the consequences of deadlock, and believing that the islands were of no value to Canada bowed to the American demands and altered his previous view stated on October 12.⁵¹ The majority decision on this question derives its importance not from the loss to Canada of two islands of no economic and questionable strategic value but from the fact that the patently non-judicial character of that decision cast the whole award into disrepute and made it possible to impugn the judicial character of the answers to other and more important questions before the tribunal.

The majority finding of the question of Portland Channel offended the judicial sensibilities of the two Canadian commissioners who appear to have been unaware of the possibility that their own thorough-going support of their country's case might have been affected by the non-judicial atmosphere which surrounded the labours of the tribunal. Sir Louis Jetté and Mr. Aylesworth refused to sign the award of the tribunal on the ground that it was not a judicial finding. They filed dissenting judgments both of which upheld the British position in its entirety and attacked the majority award on the question of the islands as "a mere compromise dividing the field between two contestants."⁵² They also issued a joint statement to the *Times* explaining to the people of Canada the character of the award and their reasons for not signing it.⁵³

Lord Alverstone held aloof from the public controversy that followed the award, but in the privacy of correspondence with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Mr. Aylesworth, Sir Louis Jetté, and Mr. Clifford Sifton, he revealed that he was deeply offended by their expressions of want of confidence in his decision. The record of the correspondence that passed among these gentlemen reveals a striking contrast between the position taken by the Canadians who flatly denounced Lord Alverstone's decision on the ground that it was not a judicial finding and the position taken by Lord Alverstone who stoutly maintained that his decision was founded solely on judicial considerations.⁵⁴ This seeming incompatibility of view is partly to be explained by the fact that the Canadians attached a very different meaning to the word "judicial" from that given to it by Lord Alverstone. They restricted the term "judicial" to those considerations directly related to the interpretation of the law as embodied in the treaty of 1825. Lord Alverstone used the term in a much wider sense which enabled him to give weight to considerations such as the unfortunate consequences of deadlock in the tribunal and the value of the Portland Channel Islands to the parties.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 232.

⁵¹For a comparison of Lord Alverstone's first opinion and his final judgment see John S. Ewart, "The Alaska Boundary" in *The Kingdom of Canada and Other Essays* (Toronto, 1908), 322 *ff.*

⁵²*A.B.T.*, I, pt. I, 86 *ff.*

⁵³*The Times*, October 21, 1903.

⁵⁴Lord Alverstone to A. B. Aylesworth, October 21, 1903 and October 26, 1903; A. B. Aylesworth to Lord Alverstone, November 3, 1903, November 9, 1903, and November 11, 1903; Lord Alverstone to Clifford Sifton, October, 1903; *Memorandum of Lord Alverstone*, October 24, 1903. These documents are to be found in the Sifton MS.

Lord Alverstone's more liberal interpretation of the term "judicial" reflected his view of the nature of the tribunal and of the functions he was called upon to perform in it. The peculiar structure and composition of the tribunal restricted the range of its possible results to two inescapable alternatives, an American victory or deadlock. In the choice between these alternatives the judgment of Lord Alverstone would almost inevitably be decisive. Under these circumstances he conceived his position to be not that of one judge among six but that of an umpire appointed to adjust the claims of two conflicting groups. The tribunal itself he regarded not as one of arbitration but as "an attempt to solve by mutual discussion and friendly consideration questions which might have become the subject of discord between the two nations concerned."⁵⁵ Lord Alverstone, holding this broad view of the nature and purpose of the tribunal did not feel bound in his deliberations to consider only the evidence presented to him in the written arguments and the arguments of counsel. Throughout the proceedings he was particularly sensitive to the consideration that the failure of the tribunal to reach an agreement would be an international calamity.⁵⁶ Believing that his first duty was to secure an award he attempted to double in the roles of diplomat and judge. His performance of this exacting dual role exhibited dignity and perseverance but lacked the delicacy and insight needed to harmonize its desperate parts into a consistent pattern. He came naturally into close relations with the American commissioners without whose consent an award was impossible. Toward his Canadian colleagues Lord Alverstone maintained an attitude of grave courtesy but he seriously blundered, as a mediator if not as a judge, in failing to enter into close collaboration with them and especially in neglecting to inform them privately of his change of opinion on the question of Portland Channel. In the atmosphere of the tribunal, charged with suspicion, the Canadian commissioners were only too ready to regard any such omission as evidence of a willingness on the part of the Chief Justice to be guided by considerations of policy rather than of law. To that want of complete frankness on the part of Lord Alverstone may be traced much of the bitterness of the Canadian commissioners and no small measure of the acerbity of their accusations which inflamed Canadian opinion against the whole award.

The record of Canadian-American relations had led many Canadians to see annexationist designs in every positive assertion of American territorial claims along the Canadian border and had persuaded them that, in any dispute between Canada and the United States, Great Britain was likely to surrender Canadian interests on the altar of Anglo-American friendship. From the beginning Canadians had been profoundly sceptical of the arrangements for the settlement of the Alaskan boundary dispute and the award of the tribunal realized their worst fears.⁵⁷ The refusal of the Canadian commissioners to sign the award, their issuance of separate decisions, and their condemnation of the majority decision in the statement to the *Times* unleashed in Canada a storm of protest which one historian

⁵⁵Taken from a speech made by Lord Alverstone at a dinner at the Mansion House, as reported in the *Times*, October 14, 1903.

⁵⁶A. B. Aylesworth to Lord Alverstone, November 3, 1903, Sifton MS.

⁵⁷Toronto *Telegram*, January 25, 1903; *Manitoba Free Press*, January 25, 1903; *Victoria Daily Colonist*, February 26, 1903; *Toronto Globe*, February 19, 1903 and February 21, 1903; *Ottawa Citizen*, February 19, 1903; *Halifax Herald*, February 25, 1903; *London Morning Post*, September 3, 1903.

has described as "vigorous, wide-spread and sustained beyond anything in the country's annals."⁵⁸ Canadian indignation was aroused not so much by the details of the award as by the methods which were believed to have been employed in reaching it.⁵⁹ Canadians vent their anger to a lesser degree upon the United States for having violated the treaty in its appointments to the tribunal and to a greater degree upon Great Britain for having offered such feeble resistance to American aggressiveness.⁶⁰ The circumstances surrounding the settlement of the dispute produced serious dissatisfaction with Canada's position in the British Empire.⁶¹ Those circumstances did not reveal any clear and desirable alternative to existing imperial relationships but they convinced many Canadians that those relationships were no longer adequate and should be changed in ways which would give Canadians greater control over their own affairs and in this way they helped to create an atmosphere favourable to the reception of new ideas concerning Canada's relation to the mother country.

The influence of political forces on the structure, membership, and award of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal indicates clearly the limitations of arbitration as a method of settling international disputes. The Alaskan boundary dispute was not susceptible of judicial or quasi-judicial settlement because one of the parties was unwilling to have the dispute taken out of international politics and settled by judicial as distinct from political criteria. Once it is admitted that considerations of policy were bound to have a most important place in the settlement of the dispute it is difficult to see how a result could have been reached materially at variance with that which was the decision of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal. The essential facts were that the United States had a very strong case, that a settlement was becoming increasingly urgent, that President Roosevelt was determined to have a settlement wholly favourable to the United States, and that in the existing state of international relations no British government could afford to uphold Canadian claims to the extent of jeopardizing Anglo-American understanding. Concessions had to be made on the British side and the substitution of Canadian weakness for British desire for American friendship in the equation of the settlement would not have altered the result in Canada's favour. British diplomacy created an atmosphere of friendly relations and facilitated the adjustment of an awkward and irritating dispute which, if it had not been settled, might have produced a breach in the Anglo-American *rapprochement* and impeded co-operation of the English-speaking peoples in the Great War. In the development of Anglo-American solidarity Canada had a far greater stake than that which she

⁵⁸O. D. Skelton, *The Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (London, 1922), II, 153.

⁵⁹Gelber, *Rise of Anglo-American Friendship*, 162; H. L. Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States; Some Aspects of the History of the Republic and the Dominion* (New York, 1929), 227; P. E. Corbett, *The Settlement of Canadian-American Disputes* (Toronto, 1937), 22.

⁶⁰H. F. Angus (ed.), *Canada and Her Great Neighbour; Sociological Surveys of Opinions and Attitudes in Canada Concerning the United States* (Toronto, 1938), 78; *Montreal Gazette*, October 21, 1903; *Toronto World*, October 19, 1903; *Ottawa Journal*, October 21, 1903; *Manitoba Free Press*, October 21, 1903; *London Daily Mail*, October 20, 1903, and October 26, 1903.

⁶¹Sir Wilfrid Laurier, *Canada, House of Commons Debates*, October 23, 1903; *Toronto Globe*, October 26, 1903; *Montreal La Presse*, October 26, 1903.

was called upon to surrender in the settlement of the Alaskan boundary dispute.

Yet in 1903 Canadians believed that they were being asked to make all the sacrifices for the cause of Anglo-American amity. An uncritical assumption that Canada had the stronger case, together with a refusal to recognize that in imperial diplomacy the interests of the whole must take precedence over those of the part, and that in international politics disputes are settled in accordance with the views of the stronger party, all lay at the source of a wave of Canadian indignation which vented itself upon British supineness and American bullying. This indignation gave a tremendous stimulus to the movement for full self-government which later became formalized in new relations among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Her sense of nationality quickened by what she regarded as ill-treatment at the hands of two great English-speaking powers, Canada moved out of the colonial era into a period of conscious aspiration for national status.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Ewart stated that Lord Alverstone really was more responsible for the final decisions in the Alaskan boundary settlement than is indicated in the paper. Alverstone took an oath to decide judicially by the evidence. He could not have been so foolish as to have misunderstood the meaning of this. Hence as an arbitrator he actually violated his oath. He should have turned back the problem to the diplomats but evidently he had no conscience. He should not be let off so easily but must be condemned. *Mr. Ewart* also asked, "What was the method of arriving at the decision with respect to the S Mountains?"

Mr. Gibson agreed with *Mr. Ewart*'s criticism of Lord Alverstone's Portland Channel decision, but felt that, in view of President Roosevelt's determination not to allow the matter to revert to ordinary channels, it would have been extremely difficult for the Chief Justice to act otherwise. With regard to the S Mountains he said that Lord Alverstone and the American commissioners had made no explanation of their finding. The Canadians stated that it was a compromise decision, and criticized their American colleagues for not indicating the principle of the decision. There was also a gap in the award at this point for lack of surveys.

Mr. Ewart said that Alverstone should have told the Canadians about the information in Roosevelt's letters before making his decision.

Mr. Gibson replied that this would not have affected the outcome, and went on to say that Alverstone asserted that he never could persuade Aylesworth of the grave international consequences of the failure to reach a decision.

Professor Underhill stated that Laurier told his Cabinet that his hand was forced in 1902 with respect to an even-numbered commission, and asked, "What did occur?"

Mr. Gibson replied that he had only the information given in Dafoe's *Life of Sifton*.

Mr. Ewart asserted that Great Britain did not wait for Canada's opinion before ratifying the treaty. The author of the paper agreed with this.

Mr. Kenney suggested that it didn't matter a continental how the decision went. There was a feeling at the time that every inch of the territory involved was a potential gold mine. Even if Britain and Canada had refused to sign there would not have been any serious disturbance on the frontier. The United States would merely have put itself in the wrong with the world and with its own people, and when the inevitable reaction against Roosevelt's imperialism came the final decision would have been as favourable to Canada as the one made.

Mr. Gibson did not agree with *Mr. Kenney's* appraisal. He said the speaker did not appreciate the high pitch of feeling in Canada at the time with respect to the loss of the two strategic islands. A serious breach in relations might have occurred.

Professor Lower pointed out the importance of the Alaskan boundary controversy in Canada's development as a nation.

Professor Sage related the "legend" of the finding of the Russian boundary markers at the time of the building of the C.P.R. These upheld the American claims so far that the Ottawa government did not make them known.

THE NICOLLS PAPERS: A STUDY IN ANGLICAN TORYISM

By D. C. MASTERS
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TORYISM, as a political philosophy and a way of life, is as old in Canada as Anglo-Saxon settlement itself. It began with the arrival of the merchant group in Quebec and Montreal immediately after the conquest. It received fresh support with the advent of the Loyalists into Upper Canada and of immigration which followed almost immediately from the British Isles. Throughout the nineteenth century Toryism went from strength to strength, fostered by the vicissitudes of Canadian politics and constantly reinforced by new waves of immigration from the Mother Country.

The mainspring of Toryism was no doubt the urge to political and economic dominance. Yet its outward manifestation took the form of a whole series of beliefs and antipathies. Toryism, on its theoretical side, was more than a political philosophy. It was almost a religious faith and its principal positive tenet was always loyalty to the Mother Country and to the Empire. To the Tory any discussion of Canada's future which questioned the imperial tie was treason and heresy. He was no more prepared to discuss the issue than the mediæval church would have been prepared to discuss the nature of the Trinity. When one of Colonel George Denison's acquaintances in Toronto suggested that the Canadian people should be able to discuss annexation or independence, the doughty old Tory reported, "I denied this vehemently, and declared they could not have either without fighting, and I told him plainly that if he meant to secure either he had better hang me on a lamp-post or otherwise, if it became a live issue, I would hang him."¹ Coupled with this strong advocacy of Empire went a belief in the maintenance of the propertied classes and of the political and economic *status quo*, a fervent dislike of Americans, of the Church of Rome, and particularly of French Canadians.

The connection between Canadian Toryism and the Church of England in Canada was always close. In the nineteenth century the Anglican clergy were Tories almost to a man. Lord Elgin, in his progress through Upper Canada, after the crisis over the Rebellion Losses Bill, which brought the Tories into solid opposition to the Governor, reported, "The people who behave worst are the Church of England parsons the old Tory Mags. & office holders and the members of the Orange Lodges."² The Reverend Benjamin Cronyn, later Bishop Cronyn, of London provides an example, perhaps extreme but not unrepresentative, of Anglican Toryism. Cronyn campaigned actively for the Lieutenant-Governor and the Family Compact in the Upper Canada election of 1836. Wrote the Reverend William Proudfoot, a Presbyterian, "Parson Cronyn has been all over the township electioneering." According to Dr. Duncombe, a Reform leader, Cronyn, on election day, urged on the Orangemen in their riotous efforts to prevent the Reformers from voting.³ The fortunes of the Family Compact in

¹George T. Denison, *The Struggle for Imperial Unity* (Macmillans, 1909), 126.

²*Elgin Papers*, Broomhall, Scotland, Elgin to Cumming Bruce, Sept. 17, 1849.

³Quoted in Fred Landon, "The Common Man in the Era of the Rebellion in Upper Canada" (*Canadian Historical Association Report*, 1937), 88.

Upper Canada were, of course, closely linked with those of the Church of England; but the association between Toryism and the Church was equally strong in the other colonies. Canadian Tories, like their English counterparts, stood for Church and King.

For this reason a description of the papers of Jasper Nicolls, an Anglican clergyman and first Principal of Bishop's University, may appropriately be termed "A Study in Anglican Toryism."

Nicolls, Principal of Bishop's from 1845 to 1877, was a son-in-law of the second Bishop Mountain, having married Mountain's daughter, Harriet, in 1847. The papers consist mainly of private letters interchanged between the two establishments—the Mountains at Quebec and the Nicolls family in Lennoxville. The principal correspondents, in addition to Nicolls and Bishop Mountain are Harriet Nicolls, Mrs. Mountain, and Kate Mountain, Harriet's younger sister who was still at home in Quebec. In addition there are many letters to Nicolls from various Anglican clergy in the Diocese of Quebec, describing conditions in the country and in the church.

II

The Nicolls papers give one a glimpse of a close-knit family community, Anglican, high Tory, and very pro-English. The comments of Bishop Mountain and his family on the French Canadians, "Yankee ways," the Roman Catholic Church, and Lord Elgin were characteristic of the group of which they were members.

Like so many Canadian Tories the Mountains and the Nicolls were at heart colonials. England was still home. Yankee ways must be shunned and English habits cultivated. Bishop Mountain admonished Harriet at Lennoxville: "It is high time, in my simple judgment, that you should break through the rough Yankee ways which *necessity* may have *imposed* some years ago. . . . I think it would do a great deal of good, in different ways, that you should have everything about you—without aiming at ostentatious style,—as *thoroughly nice & English* as circumstances will permit."⁴

Like other members of this group the Mountains and the Nicolls showed a proper awareness of the existence of the class system in Canadian society. References to servants showed a combination of amused contempt modified at times by a genuine, though indulgent, affection. In a particularly revealing letter of May 3, 1851, the Bishop warned Harriet against allowing her maid to read novels since it might have the result "of her becoming unnerved for the station appointed for her in the providence of God."

Anti-American sentiments frequently appear in the Nicolls Papers. Bishop Mountain disliked "rough Yankee ways." He was contemptuous of a church in the Eastern Townships which "according to the Yankee fashion" had not been appropriated to any particular denomination. Armine, the Bishop's son, described a woman whom he had met as "rather likeable, barring a little Yankeeism." Jasper Nicolls, after a journey across New England, rejoiced on his return to Canada, "Indeed it was a satisfaction to find oneself once more removed from under the ignorant

⁴Nicolls Papers, Bishop's University, Bishop Mountain to Harriet Nicolls, May 31, 1858.

self-satisfied barbarism of these folks of the star spangled banner."⁵ And so it went. Nothing American was any good. Kate Mountain even deplored the fact that most of the seeds used in flower gardens in Quebec were imported from the United States and took steps to secure her seeds from England.⁶ Although the Mountains and the Nicolls were not of Loyalist stock they had acquired the Loyalist dislike of all things American. In this, they were typical of many immigrants from the Mother Country who became assimilated to the Loyalist pattern.

References to the French Canadians in the Nicolls Papers are comparatively few. So far as possible the Nicolls and the Mountains sought to ignore the alien race. A few significant quotations, however, indicate that the attitude of the group toward the French and toward Lord Elgin who was thought to favour them unduly, was typical of Canadian Toryism. Thus Bishop Mountain complained to his daughter, Harriet: "I trust in God that the scheme of Messrs. O'reilly & Co., in which the name of Mr. Papineau now figures, to swamp the Protestant interest altogether in the townships & to overwhelm us in the only corner of L. Canada where we have anything like a preponderating interest, will be defeated."⁷ Suspicious of the French as they were, it was natural that the Mountains should dislike Lord Elgin after his acceptance of the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1849. "His political principles and acts I abominate," wrote Bishop Mountain;⁸ and Kate Mountain was reflecting the family attitude when she wrote: "Lord Elgin has become quite foolishly gay & drives the girls out to picnics—and dines out with Tom Dick & Harry & has parties every week. When they play games and *romp*. . . all the sensible people seem quite disgusted."⁹ Bishop Mountain told the same story of "all sorts of gambols at Spencer Wood" led by Lord Elgin and added "He is now laid up by having, it is said, broken some small tendon in the 'facetious' use of his nether extremities, at about 4 o'clock in the morning."¹⁰

In one point, however, the Toryism of the Mountains differed from the more secular Toryism of the Montreal merchants who threw the Empire overboard in 1849 in order to advocate annexation to the United States. Such a step the Mountains and the Nicolls could never have accepted. Their Toryism was much less directly associated with the marts of trade and, while by no means divorced from political and economic considerations, it was more a matter of the spirit than the Toryism of Montreal. Thus it is not surprising that Mrs. Mountain should have written in August, 1849: "I believe *wise* folk laugh at the idea of annexation being a matter of easy accomplishment."

The Toryism of the Nicolls and the Mountains, however, was much the same in its basic tenets as the Toryism of Montreal. There was, of course, some difference in tone. One never detects quite the violent, blood-thirsty note so characteristic of Montreal and Toronto Toryism in the nineteenth century. Yet at times there is the same suggestion of potential lawlessness in the Quebec and Lennoxville group. Kate Mountain, for

⁵*Ibid.*, Bishop Mountain to Mrs. Mountain, Aug. 30, 1852; Armine Mountain to Harriet Nicolls, March 15, 1848; Jasper Nicolls to Harriet Mountain, Aug. 23, 1847.

⁶*Ibid.*, Kate Mountain to Harriet Nicolls, June 15, 1849.

⁷*Ibid.*, Bishop Mountain to Harriet Nicolls, April 13, 1848.

⁸*Ibid.*, Bishop Mountain to Harriet Nicolls, Dec. 21, 1854.

⁹*Ibid.*, Kate Mountain to someone unknown, 1854.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Bishop Mountain to Harriet Nicolls, Nov. 25, 1854.

instance, in 1849 contemplated a situation in which the Tories and the British garrison would be in arms against each other.¹¹ A much more vigorous example of the same spirit was later provided by Colonel Denison in Toronto. In 1870 he was much incensed at the supposed failure of the Macdonald government to deal firmly with the Red River insurrection. He thought that Macdonald was truckling to Georges Cartier and the French. When he heard that Cartier and Bishop Taché were coming to Toronto he organized a demonstration in which Cartier was to be burned in effigy. Hearing that the District Adjutant-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Durie, planned to provide a guard of honour for the visitors, Denison went to him and protested: "I told him if we heard any more of it, we would take possession of the armoury that night, and that we would have ten men to his one, and if anyone in Toronto wanted to fight it out, we were ready to fight it out on the streets. He told me I was threatening revolution. I said, 'Yes, I know I am, and we can make it one. A half continent is at stake, and it is a stake worth fighting for'."¹² This language is perhaps extreme. Yet it is not unrepresentative of a movement which produced the anti-Elgin riots in April of 1849, the Orange demonstrations during the visit of the Prince of Wales to Toronto in 1860, and many other exhibitions of Tory vigour. Neither Bishop Mountain nor Jasper Nicolls would have spoken in this explosive manner. Yet they would probably have condoned Denison's action in doing so.

III

The Anglican clergy in mid-nineteenth century Canada had two battles to fight: one in the political field against radicals and French Canadians and one in the field of religion proper against other denominations particularly the Methodists. The fact that many of the Methodists were also radicals tended of course to make it all one struggle.

The Nicolls Papers are full of the din of battle from the struggle with Methodism. Bishop Mountain made frequent references to the struggle over the Clergy Reserves which he, of course, thought should have been an Anglican monopoly and when the Reserves were secularized he wrote that the Legislature had "plundered the Church of God & divided the plunder among the constituencies."¹³ Jasper Nicolls's clerical correspondents described the struggle with Methodism in the mission field and they all told much the same story. Their parishioners were poor and had to work hard to obtain a bare subsistence. The clergy were struggling to establish the Church of England in the face of great difficulties particularly the opposition of the Methodists. The Methodists were always being successfully resisted and were often at the point of extinction but references to this troublesome sect still continued. Methodism seemed to die hard.

Typical of Nicolls's letters from the clergy is that from Charles Forest, the rector of Grenville, dated December 30, 1848. Forest began with a vivid description of life in his parish, castigating various allies of the devil especially the local store-keepers who debauched the people with drink. But he reserved his most severe criticism for the rival religious denom-

¹¹*Ibid.*, Kate Mountain to Harriet Nicolls, June, 1849.

¹²Denison, *Struggle for Imperial Unity*, 37-8.

¹³Nicolls Papers, Bishop Mountain to Harriet Nicolls, Nov. 25, 1854.

inations particularly the Methodists. "If these sectaries have done mischief elsewhere," he reported, "beyond all bounds they have done so *here*. They have had emissaries at work—the most ignorant and debased of their kind—Men, not only unskilled in everything which a divine ought to know, but absolutely unable to read the ordinary text of our Eng. bibles without hesitation and spelling."

However, Forest like his fellow clergy was able to conclude happily that the Methodists had lost their grip and that "the reign of misrule has almost come to an end." A similar tone of confidence was shown by the Reverend James Fulton who reported to Nicolls, "Notwithstanding all the increased exertions of the Methodists I have lost none. And I had the satisfaction last Sunday of having a good congregation whilst the Methodists were roaring away at a protracted meeting."¹⁴ Many other clergymen gave similar reports.

The Mountains and the Nicolls shared these views on the Methodists and other Dissenters as numerous references in the letters indicate.¹⁵

IV

Kate Mountain's letters give one an interesting glimpse of polite society in Quebec: its riding, its formal dinners and balls, and its musical evenings. The officers of the British garrison were always very much in demand. Kate observed that so long as there were interesting British officers available the "Quebec boys" were "looked down upon."¹⁶ The tone of Quebec society was strongly Tory and Tory attitudes appear to have been shared by the garrison. During the crisis over the Rebellion Losses Bill Kate reported a conversation with an officer in the Rifle Brigade, "Mr. Doherty says that if there are any rows & they have to fight against us he will be with us in heart for he thinks we are shamefully treated." Kate added significantly "they all say the *same*."¹⁷ That this report was accurate is suggested by Lord Elgin's wry comment to Earl Grey, after the completion of arrangements for the free admission of commissariat and military supplies, "It is gratifying to reflect that henceforward the Gentlemen of H.M.'s Army will be able to drink confusion to the Gov. Gen. and his administration in untaxed liquor."¹⁸

Kate Mountain engaged in all the fashionable amusements of the city. A typical glimpse is provided in her letter to Harriet of May 27, 1848:

I believe that I wrote last on Saturday on which I rode out & dined with the Cochranes & on Sunday Kate [Cochrane] staid in town with me on Monday I rode out to the Cochranes—& also on Tuesday early so that I might be back in time for the band which plays from three to five upon the Esplanade. On Wednesday the Queen's birthday it poured as usual—so there was no trooping of the colors. . . . I went in the evening to the artillery shine. [splurge ed.] I came out in white tarlton with a white sash & my hair was turned up. I danced the second quadrille with Mr. Newton

¹⁴*Ibid.*, James Fulton to Jasper Nicolls, March 8, 1848.

¹⁵*Ibid.* See particularly Mrs. Mountain to Jasper Nicolls, May 8, 1848.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Kate Mountain to Harriet Nicolls, March 19, 1856.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Kate Mountain to Harriet Nicolls, June, 1849.

¹⁸A. G. Doughty (ed.), *Elgin-Grey Papers, 1846-1852* (Ottawa, 1937) 4 vols., Elgin to Grey, Aug. 2, 1850.

who asked me the day before. I danced with him twice and he asked me three times. I danced twice with Mr. Nixon and he asked me three times. . . .

And so on. Apparently it was conventional to turn down a partner at the third time of asking.

Perhaps the social and ecclesiastical highlight of the Mountains's stay at Quebec was the conference of British North American Bishops in 1851. Mrs. Mountain was hostess to the five visiting bishops (Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Toronto, and Montreal) and wrote a racy and amusing letter to Harriet describing the appearance, character, and personal eccentricities of each of the five. Her description of Bishop Strachan gives a vivid glimpse of that doughty champion of the Family Compact and the Church of England. "Toronto—what words can describe this energetic—first rate 74 . . . he has a fringe of black hair round his hard old healthy looking visage, wh. he allows to grow long enough to comb straight back & cover his whole white head—wh: keeps peeping through in cracks & corners not seeming to like that it should be put into the back-ground . . . but he is a lively, laughing, *spunky* old bird,"¹⁹

V

Other material in the Nicolls Papers is not particularly apropos of a study of Toryism. There is a good deal of material about the vicissitudes of travel, especially in the pre-railway period and about fashions in women's clothing. There is a vague suggestion of Toryism in Mrs. Mountain's advice in a letter requesting Harriet to buy a bonnet for a mutual friend, "If you *cannot* get a Tuscan—get one of those *white ones*, like the Bermuda straw—as she dislikes the *common straw* as looking like a servant's. . . ."²⁰ However, most of the material on transportation and on clothing may be classed as non-political. The fashion of wearing four or five petticoats in the decade of the eighteen-forties was presumably not confined to Tory women. When the steamboat broke down on Lake Chats on the Ottawa on one of Bishop Mountain's journeys Tory and radical passengers, no doubt, were alike stranded.

This paper has not been intended as a condemnation but rather as an examination of Canadian Tory attitudes. The Mountains and the Nicolls simply adopted the attitudes of their particular group in society much as they adopted their fashions in clothing or in foodstuffs. Within the framework of those accepted opinions they lived out their lives. One gets the impression of kindly, hard-working, and conscientious people reflecting both the virtues and the little foibles which are common to mankind. The fact that they were Tories shaped their opinions but it did not prejudice their hearts.

The Nicolls Papers provide striking evidence of the fact that almost any collection of old private letters is likely to contain valuable social and political material. In the past the general outline of Canadian history was largely built up through the use of official documents. A great deal can still be accomplished in supplementing official documents with other material of which family letters are an example. Jasper Nicolls, Kate

¹⁹Nicolls Papers, Mrs. Mountain to Harriet Nicolls, Sept. 25, 1851.

²⁰*Ibid.*, Mrs. Mountain to Harriet Mountain, undated.

Mountain, the Reverend Charles Forest, and many other people who never got into the history books before, have their contribution to make. They help to cover the skelton of Canadian history with flesh and blood.

This paper is mainly concerned with political attitudes. Here a study of particular individuals is of especial value in supplementing our knowledge of a general school of thought. The Nicolls, the Mountains, and their many associates were the rank and file of a Toryism which spread throughout the length and breadth of Canada. It has swung Dominion elections in its day and is particularly active in time of war. Toryism may be now in decline but it has been an unconscionable time a-dying.

DISCUSSION

Professor Underhill pointed out that there is an evangelical tradition in the Anglican Church, and asked if this had been represented in Lower Canada. Professor Masters replied that the tradition at Bishop's College has been rather High Church.

Professor Rothney in commenting upon the hostility to the French Canadians evident in the Nicholls papers, stated that Anglican Tories and French-Canadian *Bleus* had always found it possible to get along together politically. He stressed the significance of the Anglican influence in the Protestant educational system in Quebec, saying that Anglicanism combines an external political loyalty with a religious loyalty in contrast to the French-Canadian Catholic's sole loyalty to Canada, and this makes a serious problem.

Professor Masters drew attention to a distinction between Conservatives and Tories, and asserted that it is the Tories who cannot get along with the French-Canadians.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AROUND THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

By B. K. SANDWELL
Editor, Saturday Night

THE concept of the twentieth century which was almost universally entertained in Canada in the year 1900 was that it was to be simply a bigger and better nineteenth century, in which Canada as the latest born child of that century would play a very important part. There can seldom have been an age more unconscious that it bore within itself the seeds of its own dissolution, nay, that that dissolution was indeed already far advanced. In 1900 we were certain that the twentieth century was to be Canada's century, and that it was to be also the finest flower of all the centuries of the history of mankind.

Only a single cloud hung in the sky at the moment when Canada crossed the threshold of this new century, an event which I hold, perhaps wrongly, to have taken place at midnight on December 31, 1900, Eastern standard time. The British Empire, not yet divided into a Commonwealth and an Empire, or a Commonwealth half-Empire and a non-Commonwealth half-Empire, was engaged in a war with certain Boer Republics in South Africa, brought about largely by the fact that these Republics refused to enfranchise certain immigrant Uitlanders, mainly of British origin, who resided in their territories. The historic importance of this war lies in the fact, which has not been greatly dwelt upon by historians, that it was the last war fought by the British under the system of voluntary enlistment, and that owing to their adherence to that system, or their unreadiness to adopt compulsion, they very nearly failed to win it. Mr. Henri Bourassa in his famous lecture of October 20, 1901, on "Great Britain and Canada" saw this point quite clearly, and devoted much of his time to discussing the only alternatives which would lie before the United Kingdom in its future wars, namely conscription and an appeal to the colonies. "Conscription spells danger from within; conscription conjures up revolt from five millions of angry British toilers, a fresh curse to be grafted on Irish hatred; possibly conscription means the disruption of the United Kingdom, the overthrow of monarchy and the advent of social revolution. Neither is an appeal to the colonies attended with less formidable difficulties."

But while Mr. Bourassa's estimate of the nature of future British wars was thus highly correct, his explanation of the reasons why they would have that nature left something to be desired. He blamed the difficult military position of Great Britain (or as he preferred to call it, the "distress of England") on the aggressive over-expansion of the British Empire, brought about by "the lust of territorial acquisition" in the breasts of shopkeepers who believed that "trade follows the flag." And even worse: "In British youths, brutal instincts are being developed by the invasion of sportive games," and these were leading to "a debasement of the moral and intellectual standard of the British Parliament" and to a national spirit of pride and aggressiveness.

The Boer War, however, came to an end with the end of the century, but not before its long-drawn-out and perilous nature had caused the

majority of the Canadian people to feel that Canada must participate in it to a much larger extent, both in finance and in man-power, than was easy in a country containing a great division of opinion on the merits of the case. A forewarning was thus given of the difficulties which were to arise later when the United Kingdom and its allies would be in even more serious straits. Unfortunately it is a law of human nature that people will always expect the next war to be exactly like the last one, when the only thing that is really certain about it is that it will be entirely different. So as soon as the Boers were disposed of, the British and the Canadians alike began looking forward to another war in which mounted infantry would be the predominant land force, when it was actually destined to be fought by enormous masses of infantry supported by unprecedented quantities of munitions and mechanical equipment. The question of the manner of raising the required forces thus gave place to the question of training them, and the proper way of dealing with Boer commandos was sedulously imparted to armies which were in a few years to have to deal with an entrenched line of millions of German conscripts from the English Channel to Switzerland.

This means that in Canada in 1900, although I suspect not even the most far-seeing economists of that year were able to see it, we were already face to face with one of the major breakdowns of the system of free capitalism. A state which owes its power of self-defence wholly to the money placed at its disposal by taxpayers and lenders—a state which cannot engage an additional soldier until it has been provided with the necessary shilling to sign him up with and a lot more shillings for his subsequent pay—is in a totally different position from a state which owes its power of self-defence to its right to order its citizens into the breach. It is in a different position, and it is also a different kind of a state. It is not necessary to inquire in which state the owners and managers of money are likely to be more powerful, and in which the power will rest more largely with the great mass of citizens if they have the brains and will to exercise it, and with the manipulators of the state machinery if they have not. I will only ask you to consider the statement of principles with which Malthus, that prince of capitalistic thinkers, ushered in the nineteenth century, and to decide how far it had ceased to be valid by the time the forces of the whole Empire were imperatively needed to defeat the Boers. I take the quotation from a speech of Lord Brougham, that malevolent enemy of our own Lord Durham, delivered in 1842; I have not been able to locate the passage in the works of Malthus, but the component ideas can all be found in the *Principles of Population*, and the rhetoric with which they are linked together seems exquisitely Malthusian. Lord Brougham was opposing on principle, in the highly appropriate setting of the House of Lords, the making of any legislative provision for the poor. He declared any such provision to be a great mischief, and he took his ground on Malthus, who says: "A man who is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents, on whom he has a just demand, and if the society do not want his labor, has no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and in fact, no business to be where he is. At nature's mighty feast there is no cover for him. She tells him to be gone."

Now it was all right for Malthus and Brougham to say that, in the name of the society of their day, to a man who had nothing which that society

wanted except what it could buy on the open market from somebody else if he were unwilling to sell it. But you cannot say that to a man whose fighting power—his skill, his courage, his endurance, his willingness to imperil life and limb—are going to be so imperatively needed that the society dare not haggle with him about the terms of the bargain, but must use its sovereign power to take from him all that it needs. If nature has really told such a man to be gone, of which I am very doubtful because I do not think nature knows anything about the laws of property, the twentieth-century society will very promptly have to implore him to come back, and apologize to him for the rude way in which its property-owners have been talking.

There was already implicit, therefore, in the Canada of 1900, and in the world of the civilized West to which it belonged, that terrific increase in the impact of the state upon the individual, due to the extended scope of modern warfare, which makes things so very difficult for states which, like Canada, are lacking in homogeneity. But nobody could have been less aware of it than the 1900 Canadians. The war was soon to come to a triumphant end without anybody having even suggested conscription, leaving Mr. Henri Bourassa with no grievance except that he was taxed to help defeat the Boers and prohibited from going to fight on their side, and all without any decision of the Canadian Parliament that it wanted the Boers to win. (But the current of thought which Mr. Bourassa then set moving has gone on flowing ever since, and has spread into distant and wider channels.) The racial cleavage in the Dominion appeared to have been vastly diminished by the selection as Prime Minister of a man of the minority race, a loyal son of the minority church though admittedly a one-time member of the *Institut Canadien* condemned by Mgr Bourget. (Nobody knew that within eleven years Laurier was to be repudiated by the voters of Quebec.) The economic difficulties of the nation, due to over-anticipation of the speedy development of the territories opened up by the first Canadian transcontinental railway, were being alleviated by a rising flood of immigration, which however included, as Mr. Jean Bruchesi is careful to point out, "a considerable number of Jews and eccentric Doukhobors." (He adds the perhaps more valid criticism that "it cost more money for a *habitant* from Rivière-du-loup to move to Alberta than for a Jew from Galicia or a peasant from the Danube valley.") The educational cleavage between the believers in the confessional school and the believers in the "American" principle of the single neutral school system, appeared to have been similarly alleviated by the apparent success of the Laurier policy of conciliation in Manitoba. The annexationists had gone into retirement, and even the advocates of reciprocity with the United States were to lie low until 1911, when to their surprise their policy became possible in the United States and therefore ceased to be attractive to the Canadians. The conflict between the free-traders and the high-tariffites had been greatly lessened by the discovery that no Canadian party would ever long maintain a tariff much higher or much lower than that of its opponents. (The Liberal party was shortly to experience an effort by Mr. Israel Tarte to make it almost as high-tariffite as the Conservative party, an effort which failed so far as his personal fortunes were concerned but did not make the party any more low-tariffite than it was; and Mr. Borden spent much time persuading the West that the Conservative

party wanted nothing more than an "adequate" tariff.) The conflict between the East and the West which was ultimately to lead to the rise of a series of specifically Western parties had not become clear; there were only fifteen seats west of Ontario in 1896 and seventeen in 1900, and the great majority of the Westerners had not been there long enough in 1900 to have learned that the people of the East were their natural enemies and exploiters and were deliberately luring them into debt with a view to foreclosing the mortgage and getting possession—indeed it is possible that the idea of doing so had not generally occurred to the Easterners. So that the country really looked fairly united even in a longitudinal direction.

Altogether, then, it is no wonder that an extreme cheerfulness pervaded the whole people except that limited but important and ever-present element which holds that it is contrary to nature for Canada to be governed by any party in whose name the word "Conservative" does not occupy at least one-third of the space, and which is therefore quite sure that the country will eventually be punished for its sins and error.

So much for the nation as a whole, still convinced of the sanctity of laissez-faire and the inevitability of free capitalism. In various provinces, however, there was already at work a process which was ultimately to undermine free capitalism at another point in its defences. Messrs. Mackenzie and Mann, who liked to build railways, had discovered a way of building them which would never cost anybody a cent and yet would leave them ultimately in possession of Mackenzie and Mann. The province through which a piece of railway ran was to guarantee the bonds covering the cost of its construction, which, except for that guarantee, were merely a mortgage on the railway, itself owned by Mackenzie and Mann, whose contribution was the idea and the organization. The investor had a perfectly good bond secured on the whole credit of the province, the interest would be paid out of the earnings of the railway, the rest of the earnings would go to Mackenzie and Mann, and everybody would be happy, including of course the voters of the province who would get a great increase of transportation facilities. All of this would have done no great harm to the system of free capitalism if all the obligated parties, beginning with Mackenzie and Mann and ending with the provinces, had been allowed to go bankrupt when they could not meet their obligations, as the system of free capitalism rigidly requires. But by the time it became conclusively evident that the obligated parties could not meet their obligations, which was well into the first World War, the system of free capitalism was already so weakened that the Dominion government did not dare to allow it to function, and took over a vast mass of railway obligations which now show the creditors a nice premium, and which have served the useful purpose of getting the nation so thoroughly accustomed to a large national debt that it was not even frightened when confronted by the present war borrowings. By taking over the mortgaged railways at the same time, and operating them as an amalgamated system with the full credit of the nation behind it, Canada set up a transportation arrangement which is neither free capitalism nor socialism, but is supposed to induce in each of its parts the merits proper to both. So far is this, however, from being a matter of deliberate design or intention, that the Canadian people have always been acutely surprised at each successive step in the process, and will no doubt be equally surprised at the next step whatever it may be. What it will be I shall

certainly not endeavour to predict, but in 1903 the chief objection of Mr. R. L. Borden to the Grand Trunk Pacific proposals was that they tended to postpone the day of government ownership of all railway lines, a postponement which he profoundly deplored.

It was obvious that no territory in which Mackenzie and Mann could be building railways if there were a provincial government to guarantee the bonds could long be left without such a provincial government, and loud cries for provincial autonomy were already in 1900 proceeding from the eminently railroadable territory between Manitoba and British Columbia. But the setting up of that autonomy involved the drafting of a constitution, and the drafting of a constitution involved the making of a decision between the demand for a unified school system and the demand for confessional schools—the most dangerous decision a Canadian government can have to make. That decision was held off until 1905, just after a triumphant general election and at a time when vast sums of railway money were being spent on Dominion account quite apart from the Mackenzie and Mann arrangements with provinces. It looked like the best possible time for a nasty job, and the decision did actually have no bad electoral effects in 1908; but in the great Liberal débâcle of 1911 it had far more to do with the revolt both of the anti-reciprocity English Liberals and of the Bourassa French than would be guessed from the speeches of either faction. Laurier himself wrote to a friend that the 1911 election was not a verdict against reciprocity but against a Roman Catholic Prime Minister.

R. L. Borden's favourable view of ultimate government ownership of all the railways fits in closely with a very general tendency of Canadian political thinking in the early years of the century, a tendency which has largely disappeared from the older parties since the first World War and has become the special property of the party devoted to socialism. The older parties, it would seem, have come to the conclusion that it may be dangerous to advocate the public ownership and operation of electric power plants, urban transport systems, telephones, railways, and steamship lines, if at the same time you are fighting another party which advocates the public ownership and operation of these and everything else; the electors might not know where to stop. At any rate it is significant that the only part of the country in which public ownership has been carried further by one of the old parties in the last few years is Quebec, where socialism is not supposed to have much chance in the near future. But in the early nineteen-hundreds the acquisition or construction by public authority of all sorts of utilities of the kind mentioned was extremely popular. It must be remembered that there was in those early years a grave lack of any other means of putting the misbehaving capitalist in his place; he had but to wrap himself in the sacred flag of the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and the state authority, whether provincial or federal, must recoil baffled and impotent. You could compete with him, or you could buy him out, but you could not spank him, leave him in possession of his property, and tell him to be good or he would be spanked again. How different from the present-day scene! The very earliest of the spanking machines, the Canadian Railway Commission, came into existence only in 1904, and if I remember rightly there continued for some years to be a

doubt whether the C.P.R., owing to a clause in its charter, was not immune from chastisement.

In these circumstances, and with loan capital abundant at very low interest rates, it is not surprising that there was all over the country, except in Quebec, a flood of public ownership enterprises in the utility field, headed by the Ontario hydro, which for nearly forty years remained an object of reverence to the adherents of both the old political parties, and has only very recently fallen from that estate sufficiently to be described as a "sacred cow" by a columnist in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*. The abstention of Quebec from this procedure, or rather the lateness of its joining in it, was due probably to a feeling, shared by both races, that French-Canadian politicians are not awfully good business men and that whoever might benefit by public ownership in Quebec it would not be the public. The motive for Quebec's recent adventure in public ownership is special and racial, and arises from the belief that the English-speaking capitalists of Quebec's private-enterprise utilities do not give the French Canadians a fair share of employment.

Some of the capitalists of the early years of the century unquestionably needed spanking. The same period in the United States gave rise a little later to the "muckraking era," but Canada was scarcely sufficiently adult for that literary process. The rapid economic expansion of the country was setting up a terrific race for franchises and special privileges of every sort. The types of enterprise most in vogue were those which required a grant from government either of the use of some natural resource such as a forest or a waterfall, or of the right-of-way on or across property as for a railway or a power transmission or a telephone. The relations between big business and politics became increasingly cynical, and a long series of unsavory scandals, and mysteries which fell only a little short of scandals, developed both at Ottawa and at various provincial capitals. Both in 1904 and 1908 the Conservatives under Mr. Borden tried to turn to account the resultant distrust of "big business" by preaching both government ownership of all sorts of utilities, including cold storage plants, and stricter government regulation of other businesses; but while they made progress they could not overcome the solid Quebec Liberal vote.

The one issue by which that solid Liberal vote was ultimately to be destroyed was the issue of Imperialism *versus* Nationalism, and that is the one issue which the intelligent Canadian, looking at his country at the close of the Boer War, could not regard as having been satisfactorily quieted, or having ceased to be a possible cause of grave danger to the young nation's unity. True, even this conflict did, by the end of 1901, seem to have been sensibly alleviated, for with the Boer War out of the way there was for some time a general tendency to avoid irritating utterances. Mr. Bourassa, who did not altogether share this tendency, spoke in 1902 of "the Imperialists, who despite their quietude at the present moment, have not said their last word." The quietude was perhaps helped by the facts that many French-Canadian Nationalists were disarmed by the presence of a French Canadian in the Prime Minister's chair, and that some of the more extreme Imperialists had lost prestige through the failure of their Imperial Federation movement.

Nationalism in Canada is of course far from being an exclusively French-Canadian attitude. But there is a French-Canadian Nationalism which

includes a larger programme of items, being concerned not only with resistance to Imperialism but also with the claims of the French-Canadian communities in every part of Canada, and especially of those which, unlike the French of Quebec, are not a majority in their province and cannot rely on the provincial authority to protect them. It was this kind of Nationalism which brought into being the Canadian Nationalist League, formed in Montreal in 1903 under Olivier Asselin to promote "the largest possible autonomy within the framework of the Empire; the autonomy of the provinces, with absolute respect for the rights of minorities in education; the peopling of the West by Canadians in order to hasten the formation of a Canadian nation; the defence of French as one of the official languages of all Canada; the exploitation of natural resources by and for Canadians." It may be noted here that the French text is capable of an interpretation which is not possible to this English translation, for the word translated "Canadians," while it may mean merely a native or citizen of Canada of any race, is much more likely to be applied by a French-Canadian hearer merely to French Canadians—an interpretation which would not diminish the appeal of the document. It so happened that between 1903 and 1909 this particular French-Canadian species of Nationalism received every possible stimulus from events relating to language and education in various other provinces, with the result that when the question of military and naval preparedness for possible joint defence along with Great Britain again began to be agitated, owing to the threatening aspect of Germany, there was a strong and organized opinion in French Canada ready to oppose such preparation as one more concession to British "jingoistic intrigues."

The non-confessional or neutral school system is of course no more a part of British Imperialism or even of the British political tradition than is the one hundred and sixty acre land survey system of the Prairie Provinces. It is essentially American, as is also the idea of recognizing but one official language. It seems a little ironical, if not unjust, that the supporters in French Canada of a reasonable and self-respecting mutual alliance for defence between a wholly autonomous Canada and an equally autonomous Britain should have to bear the burden of the animosities excited not only by the one-school Orange Order but also by the one-language Irish Roman Catholics; but such is the case, and to the majority of French Canadians these are all British Imperialists in the same basket together, and anybody who suggests that the national safety of Canada is somewhat bound up with the national safety of Great Britain is simply playing the game of all these francophobes. There are however just as many misconceptions on the other side, misconceptions by the English-speaking about the attitudes of the French, and they are just as dexterously used by those who can make something out of them.

There are sixty-five federal seats in the Province of Quebec, and for the first seven elections of Canada's history they divided fairly evenly, with the Conservatives holding never less than 45 per cent and usually well over 50 per cent. With the advent of Laurier in the election of 1896 this healthy situation was abolished, and the Liberals began a series of majorities ranging from 75 to 90 per cent. With this assured advantage to the Liberals it became more and more difficult for the Conservatives when entering a general election to look as if they were going to win, and in

Canada in a two-party fight it is difficult to win unless you look as if you are going to. It therefore became a major object of Conservative strategy to break the Laurier hold on Quebec. There were already in 1908, as we have seen, reasons why some dissident Liberals would have liked to break away from the party, but there was no sign that Quebec could be led to revolt (the mysterious operations of David Russell regarding the purchase of a great French-Canadian daily were abortive), and the time was therefore judged inopportune. By 1910 it was clear that the Nationalists would persuade much of Quebec to support any government rather than put up with Laurier any longer. It was therefore decided to force an election, and the reciprocity proposals of January, 1911, which at first met with only a lukewarm opposition in parliament, were made the object of a filibuster which compelled the government to dissolve. The Quebec Nationalists had nothing against reciprocity, but they also had no particular feeling in its favour; it was outside of their rather limited range of interests. They expected, and had every right to expect, a new parliament in which they would have the balance of power and could exact terms for their support.

In the event there were just enough of them returned that they could, by rejoining the Liberals, have compelled another election in which Mr. Borden would have been even more successful. But they were in no mind for such heroic courses. Peacefully their leaders accepted office in the Borden administration and in other government posts without insisting that he carry out a single plank of Nationalist policy. Peacefully they drifted away one by one as the war of 1914-18 necessitated more and more policies of the most un-Nationalist kind, until in 1917 the union government, formed to enforce conscription and containing no minister from French Quebec, was returned with a majority of seventy-one over the Opposition consisting of eighty-two Liberals, sixty-two of them from the Province of Quebec.

It is probably very fortunate that the Nationalists of 1911 were not men of stronger character and greater political capacity. The presence in any elected body of a compact group of able men with a narrow range of interests which they are determined to serve at all costs is always a danger, whether they be Nationalists, Prohibitionists, Communists, or Irish Home Rulers. Had these Nationalists been more capable they could have paralyzed the proceedings of parliament during much of the three years immediately preceding the first World War. As it was, after making it possible for the Conservatives to defeat Laurier, Reciprocity, and the Canadian navy scheme, they exerted no further influence upon the course of events, and when one of the ablest and most sincere of them died last year after a long judicial career, not one of the present-day Nationalists attended his funeral.

We now know that the twentieth century is not in the least like the nineteenth century. It is a century in which Germany, without any money, nearly wrested the mastery of the world from an alliance headed by Great Britain, the United States, and Russia, and failed, not because they had money, but because they had man-power and resources and were ultimately able to deliver them as a united fighting force. We still have the resources we counted on in 1900, and they are still important, though not as all-important as we then thought. We have not even the man-power we thought in 1900 we should have by 1945, and we seem afraid to try to

attain it. As for the unity of purpose to enable us to deliver that manpower and those resources as a fighting force, there has been little sign of it in the decade I have been examining, and I doubt if anybody will claim that it has increased since 1911. We are not even conscious of the need of it, for each of us is convinced that what is really needed is that he should be able to impose his views on the rest of Canada. We shall not make this Canada's century by any such method, but we can still make it Canada's century by having a united purpose and adhering to it, especially if that common purpose be to promote as far as in us lies the peace and welfare of the entire world.

DISCUSSION

Professor Innis asked if Mr. Sandwell had taken into consideration the military situation in Europe about 1911. He said the military factor has been too much neglected by historians.

President Mackenzie asserted that English Canadians are very doubtful about the development of the Nationalist aims of French Canadians with respect to the French-Canadian communities outside of Quebec.

Mr. Sandwell replied that he had not committed himself on the question of French-Canadian Nationalist aims. He pointed out that the B.N.A. Act offers no guarantees for the French language outside of Quebec. That is the reason why a new basis of compromise must be worked out between French and English for all Canada. He does not expect this to come in his lifetime.

LE NATIONALISME CANADIEN-FRANÇAIS A L'AURORE DU XX^e SIÈCLE¹

Par l'Abbé ARTHUR MAHEUX
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L'UNE des caractéristiques du XIX^e siècle a été l'éclosion et l'expansion du principe des nationalités.

Le groupe canadien-français ne pouvait pas échapper à l'influence du mouvement nationaliste qui balayait l'Europe. Ce peuple, en effet, est né pour de bon à la vie publique avec l'avènement de la Révolution française, et avec le début du XIX^e siècle. Dès le régime français il existait chez lui une conscience collective qui, après la Cession, devint une conscience réflexe et cela sous l'influence des mêmes facteurs qui influencèrent le nationalisme dans les divers pays d'Europe.²

Première Partie: Avant 1899

Pendant de longues années le nationalisme fut, chez les Canadiens français, une réaction de défense et de protection. C'est seulement avec le XX^e siècle qu'on y vit paraître le nationalisme d'émancipation. La Grande Bretagne avait posé plusieurs gestes propres à gagner la sympathie des Canadiens français, l'Acte de Québec (1774) et la Constitution de 1791 en sont deux exemples. En outre l'Angleterre et la France furent, après 1815, ordinairement en bons termes au cours du XIX^e siècle. Le groupe français du Canada avait donc conçu de grands espoirs sur sa survivance et sur son épanouissement. La période qui s'écoula de 1830 à 1840 fit tomber ces espoirs, qui furent remplacés par de grandes désillusions. Le Rapport de Durham et l'Acte d'Union parurent aux Canadiens français comme le glas sonné sur leur sépulture.

Mais ce peuple se ressaisit et il organisa sa défense dans tous les domaines. En religion il barra la route à la French Canadian Missionary Society.³ En éducation il fit venir de France plusieurs communautés enseignantes et il en fonda sur place; il établit des écoles élémentaires, des cours commerciaux, des collèges classiques, des écoles normales, des écoles d'agriculture et de laiterie, et une université. Il se crée une vie littéraire, avec des hommes comme Garneau, Ferland, Laverdière, Gérin, Lajoie, Bédard, Turcotte, David, Casgrain, avec des poètes comme Crémazie, Fréchette, Chapman, Lemay. Il organise des manifestations nationales et patriotiques, tels la Société St-Jean-Baptiste, les Instituts Canadiens, les congrès nationaux (1889), les congrès catholiques (1880), l'élévation de monuments, celui des Braves (1889), celui de Champlain (1898). Il se donne un hymne national, "O Canada" (1880). Il suscite le culte de la langue maternelle.

Il établit des contacts avec la France d'outremer; il voyage en France, par plaisir, par esprit de tourisme, par intérêt commercial; il envoie de ses fils étudier en France, il lit les périodiques français et les livres français, les manuels de classe qu'il utilise sont en majorité publiés en

¹Ce travail tire toute sa valeur des documents sur lesquels il s'appuie; c'est pourquoi il nous a paru nécessaire de reproduire au complet ou presque au complet plusieurs de ces documents.

²Voir J. T. Delos, *La Nation* (2 vols., Montreal, 1944).

³Cf. l'Abbé Arthur Maheux, *Le Problème protestant* (Québec, 1941).

France, il reçoit des Français comme visiteurs, comme conférenciers, comme prédicateurs, comme agents consulaires; dans ses journaux il cite copieusement les publications françaises, il recherche les honneurs français. La guerre franco-prussienne, en particulier, éveille chez lui une profonde sympathie pour la France. Voici comment un écrivain canadien parle des désastres subis par la France:

L'écho de ces épouvantables désastres apporté par le télégraphe et répété par les journaux répandait le deuil et la consternation parmi la population française du Canada restée profondément attachée à son pays d'origine malgré un siècle et plus de séparation. Nous étions d'abord demeurés incrédules à l'annonce des premières défaites: La France disait-on pouvait bien subir quelque échec, mais qu'elle tombât complètement abattue, écrasée, réduite à l'impuissance aux pieds d'un ennemi qu'elle avait déjà vaincu, cela paraissait invraisemblable. Il fallut pourtant bien se rendre à la triste réalité. La stupeur fit place à l'abattement, aux angoisses, aux lamentations. On eût dit que chaque famille canadienne pleurait quelques-uns des siens tombés sur les champs de carnage où la France avait laissé une part d'elle-même. La génération actuelle ne peut se faire une idée de l'état d'âme dans lequel nous avons vécu durant cette année terrible. Nous étions atteints dans ce que le sentiment national a de plus sensible et de plus intime. Plus d'illusions possibles, nous marchions d'humiliations en humiliations. Toutefois si nous courbions la tête à la vue de tant de malheurs, nous la relevions avec fierté pour protester avec indignation, quand de lâches détracteurs osaient élever la voix pour insulter la France vaincue.

La presse canadienne-française, organe de la population, se montra admirable de dévouement, de courage, de patriotisme éclairé. Elle répondit à toutes les attaques avec tant de dignité, de sens, de calme, d'éloquence émue, qu'elle imposa silence aux plus furieux agresseurs . . .

Le plus français de cœur de nos auteurs canadiens, Faucher de Saint-Maurice, a noté jour par jour les impressions produites par les dépêches qui nous arrivaient d'Europe. On y sent, pour ainsi dire, battre le pouls de la nation; on assiste à toutes les péripéties du drame qui se joue au bord du Rhin. Tout d'abord la confiance surnage au-dessus des craintes. On a bien conscience de la lutte gigantesque qui vient de s'engager; mais le triomphe définitif ne fait guère de doute. Puis commencent les désillusions: les nouvelles alarmantes se succèdent avec la rapidité de la foudre. Un instant on croit à un retour de la fortune, mais le lendemain dément cette espérance. Il n'est que trop vrai, la victoire abandonne les drapeaux de la France. MacMahon est battu, la frontière envahie, les Prussiens sont en marche sur Paris. Le silence se fait ensuite sur les combattants: on annonce vaguement un retour offensif des armées françaises. Quel est ce mouvement? On l'ignore; mais on n'ose plus croire à un grand succès. Tout à coup, après des jours d'attente, éclate une incroyable nouvelle: l'armée française est enveloppée, l'empereur Napoléon fait prisonnier. Et pour mettre le comble au désastre, Paris se révolte, l'impératrice est en fuite et la république proclamée. . . La douleur universelle avait besoin de se manifester autrement que par des marques de

sympathies. Elle se traduisit par des actes. Des souscriptions se firent de tous côtés pour venir en aide aux blessés des armées françaises. Les offrandes furent aussi généreuses que spontanées.⁴

Il organise, au moins partiellement sa vie économique. L'émigration massive vers les États-Unis lui révèle sa situation économique; il prêche l'amour de l'agriculture et le culte de la colonisation; il fonde des banques, des fonderies, des scieries, des tanneries, des moulins à farine, des maisons de commerce. Il n'étudie pas l'économique, il n'a pas le sens de la coopération, il ne sait pas manier les capitaux, mais il sent vaguement que les affaires et l'industrie ont de l'importance.

Il se met à étudier son *Histoire*. Durham avait, pensait le Canadien, dit que le peuple canadien-français était un peuple sans histoire; il prit Durham au mot et il se mit à écrire son passé par la plume de Garneau; il fit passer les connaissances acquises dans l'âme du peuple par l'enseignement de son histoire. Une page de Casgrain est sur ce point très révélatrice.

Il raconte les débuts de l'enseignement de l'Histoire du Canada en 1850 au Collège de Ste-Anne de la Pocatière:

L'abbé Cloutier . . . était bon professeur d'histoire du Canada. Il sut nous y intéresser, nous la faire goûter. Son mérite en cela fut d'autant plus réel qu'il avait à lutter contre l'indifférence générale qu'on affectait en ce temps-là pour tout ce qui regardait notre passé. Il était même de bon ton de dire qu'il valait mieux ne s'en pas occuper et laisser tout cela dans l'oubli. A quel motif faut-il attribuer ce sentiment? Il est complexe et curieux à étudier. Pour cela, un coup-d'œil rétrospectif est nécessaire. Pendant les dures années qui suivirent la cession du pays à l'étranger, le petit peuple ruiné et complètement abandonné sur les bords du Saint-Laurent n'eut qu'une pensée, ne vit qu'un moyen de salut: se faire oublier, se replier sur soi-même, vivre à l'écart et se faire en quelque sorte pardonner son existence. On avait vaillamment lutté. Mais, finalement on avait été vaincu par les maîtres qui nous gouvernaient. Était-il prudent d'éveiller leurs susceptibilités? On était entièrement désarmé et à leur merci: ils avaient tous les pouvoirs en main. Attendre et se taire parut la tactique la plus sûre. Elle fut suivie, mais il en résulta une timidité, j'ose dire même une pusillanimité, qui pesa longtemps sur les esprits et qu'on eut bien du mal à secouer. . . .

Honte à nous, s'écrie M. de Gaspé dans les *Anciens Canadiens*, honte à nous qui, au lieu de fouiller les anciennes chroniques si glorieuses pour notre race, nous contentions de baisser la tête sous le reproche humiliant de peuple conquis qu'on nous jetait à la face à tout propos! Honte à nous qui étions humiliés d'être Canadiens, et pour qui l'histoire de notre pays était lettre close!

Il s'est fait une glorieuse réaction depuis quelques années: chacun a mis la main à l'œuvre de réhabilitation, et le Canadien peut dire comme François I: "tout est perdu hors l'honneur."

J'ai assisté au collège de Sainte-Anne à la renaissance dont parle ici M. de Gaspé. Avant cette réaction, tel était le dédain, le dégoût même qu'inspirait l'histoire du Canada qu'un écolier,

⁴Henri-Raymond Casgrain, MS, Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Souv. Can., IV, 45-53.

même avide de lecture, était furieux quand le préfet d'études, à qui était réservé le choix des livres, le condamnait à lire Charlevoix. C'était chose entendue que l'histoire du Canada était ennuyeuse comme un conte à dormir debout.

Casgrain rappelle ensuite l'influence des *Martyrs* de Chateaubriand sur Augustin Thierry et il ajoute:

Au risque de faire un rapprochement qui peut être regardé comme présomptueux, j'ose dire qu'un enthousiasme semblable s'empara de moi et ne fut pas moins décisif sur ma destinée à venir que le jour où j'entendis lire en communauté l'histoire des martyrs du Canada de Bressani, traduite de l'italien et publiée depuis peu par le P. Martin. Les sublimes figures des Jogues, des Brébeuf, des Lalement, m'apparurent dans une auréole de gloire qui fit pâlir celle des héros de l'antiquité, dont j'étais pourtant bien épris. Pour théâtre des sanglantes tragédies qui me faisaient frémir, les forêts vierges de l'Amérique chantées par Chateaubriand; pour bourreaux des martyrs, ces mêmes sauvages dont il avait fait le portrait idéalisé dans Chactas. Tout ce qu'il y avait d'écoliers intelligents au collège partagea mon enthousiasme.

Nous étions préparés à apprécier l'*Histoire du Canada* de Garneau, alors en cours de publication et dont le premier volume fut bientôt après mis entre nos mains.⁵

On écrit des manuels d'histoire nationale: Perrault (1845), Laverdière (1873), Toussaint, Les Clercs de St-Viateur, etc.

On éveille aussi le sens du folk-lore et des conteurs le font passer dans le public.

Tanguay publie son *Dictionnaire généalogique*, dont l'influence fut énorme dès sa parution et s'est maintenue très haute même à l'époque actuelle; toute famille peut et souvent veut avoir son arbre généalogique, se rattacher ainsi à la source française et constater par combien de racines elle tient au sol canadien; le XX^e siècle verra même se fonder une Société généalogique et un Institut généalogique, les deux très occupés.

De tout cela devait naître un théoricien du nationalisme, et ce fut Edmond de Nevers dans son livre *L'Avenir du peuple canadien-français*.⁶

De Nevers est à peu près inconnu dans les milieux anglo-canadiens; on est même en train de l'oublier, chez les Canadiens français, tant il a été dépassé par des démagogues et des agitateurs. De Nevers écrivit ce livre alors qu'il vivait en France. Donnons un aperçu des opinions de l'auteur. De Nevers approuve l'éveil général, au XIX^e siècle, du sentiment de nationalité. Il croit le Canada voué à l'annexion aux États-Unis. Il s'oppose à la fédération impériale. Il croit l'union nationale possible, dans le respect des droits de tous et chacun. Le Canada serait une Suisse en Amérique. L'obstacle à l'union vient de l'élément anglais. Le groupe canadien-français pourra se conserver lui-même sous le drapeau étoilé.

Les forces ennemis des Canadiens français sont, ou extérieures: le pan-saxonisme (qui n'a aucune raison d'être); ou intérieures: l'inertie, l'improductivité. Pour avoir droit à une vie distincte il faut apporter des richesses au trésor commun.

⁵Casgrain, MS, II, 80-4.

⁶Edmond de Nevers, *L'Avenir du peuple canadien-français* (Paris, 1896).

La richesse matérielle importe peu. Politique et politiciens sont ridicules. Une meilleure formation aurait donné des savants, des écrivains, des commerçants. Les notes essentielles du peuple canadien français sont le catholicisme, et l'esprit français. Il faut assurer le progrès dans le sens des traditions. Il faut produire, s'enrichir même. C'est une nécessité du moment. Notre première industrie est l'agriculture; vient ensuite la colonisation. L'habitant doit s'instruire. L'homme instruit doit cultiver la terre. Il faut pratiquer l'association ou coopération.

Il faut surtout organiser la vie intellectuelle, avoir des spécialistes en géologie, biologie, climatologie. Il faut améliorer les collèges, fonder des cours supérieurs, avoir plus de bibliothèques et des écoles d'art. Enfin il faut conserver et épurer la langue française, créer des facultés de lettres.

Telles sont, en gros, les opinions d'Edmond de Nevers. La plupart ont été traduites en action en moins de cinquante ans.

En outre, le groupe français du Canada se donne une presse nationale. Les journaux avaient été jusque-là et étaient encore presque tous des journaux de partis politiques. Désormais il y aura au moins deux journaux nationaux. *La Vérité*, dirigée à Québec par J.-P. Tardivel, de 1881 à 1905, et *L'Etendard*, dirigé à Montréal par F.-X. Trudel, de 1883 à 1893.

La Vérité, hebdomadaire, est surtout française et religieuse. *L'Etendard*, quotidien, se donnera un champ d'action plus étendu. Voici les principaux articles de son programme, tels qu'exprimés dans un article du 15 janvier, 1889, sous le titre "Notre septième année d'existence." *L'Etendard* s'adresse aux "classes dirigeantes," à ceux qui ne sont ni bleus ni rouges, à ceux qui constituent, dans le Québec comme dans les autres pays, "le parti catholique"; il se fait, pour ces gens, "l'avocat de leurs causes, le propagateur de leurs principes et le défenseur de leurs intérêts sociaux"; il se déclare "journal indépendant, libre de tout lien de parti."

Sur le terrain politique il expose en quoi il est conservateur: "Notre conservatisme n'avait rien d'identique ni avec le toryisme anglais d'Ontario, ni avec le servilisme bien prévalant dans Québec; c'allait être tout simplement la réalisation de l'idée conservatrice telle que comprise en Italie par la *Civitta Catholica*, en France par *L'Univers*, dans le reste du monde par les véritables organes des partis catholiques."

Il défend l'autonomie provinciale contre les empiètements du fédéral. Dans une masse d'articles il prône l'agriculture, la colonisation dans le Québec et dans l'Ouest canadien; il favorise le rapatriement des Franco-américains; il combat les orangistes et les francs-maçons; il défend les jésuites et les minorités françaises hors du Québec. Il justifie Réel. Il se porte au secours des écoles séparées. Il défend la langue française, qu'il estime attaquée au Sénat (10 mai, 1889), à Régina (25 oct., 1889). Il se donne comme le protagoniste du "Mouvement national" (27 sept., 1889).

L'Etendard parle très peu des événements internationaux. De tous les débats parlementaires de Londres il ne retient que les discussions sur le Home Rule de l'Irlande. Il reçoit pourtant les nouvelles de la Grande-Bretagne, puisqu'il signale les événements sociaux de la cour de Londres.

Il y avait tout de même beaucoup à dire sur les agissements impérialistes de l'Angleterre à cette époque.

La tenue d'une conférence coloniale à Londres en 1887, à l'occasion du jubilé de la Reine Victoria, fournissait un bon prétexte; mais *L'Etendard* n'en parle que deux fois: le 6 avril il parle de Fédération impériale, mais seulement pour regretter qu'il n'y ait pas de Canadien français comme représentant du pays à cette conférence. Le 9 mai il en reparle mais pour relever les protestations de l'Australie, parce que celles-ci concernent une possession de la France.

Un mois plus tard, le 30 juin, 1887, il offre un article intitulé "Cinquante années de domination britannique." C'est un blâme à la politique coloniale de Londres, mais il est présenté indirectement, car l'article est la reproduction intégrale d'un article du *Vrai Mauricien* (20 février, 1887).

En somme *L'Etendard* n'a rien d'agressif contre l'Angleterre. Ses blâmes s'adressent à la population locale de langue anglaise, les orangistes, les francs-maçons, le pouvoir fédéral, la législature manitobaine. C'est nettement une réaction, c'est un nationalisme de défense et de protection.

Il est important de noter que *L'Etendard* n'est pas anti-militariste. Il publie même un grand article pour engager les Canadiens français à s'inscrire dans les régiments et à se donner les bénéfices de l'entraînement militaire. L'article a pour titre "Soyons Soldats." Il s'agit de ré-organiser un bataillon de Montréal.

Lorsque l'on voit nos compatriotes d'origine anglaise entre tenir à leurs frais, non pas un bataillon, mais plusieurs, il nous semble que le moins que nous puissions faire, c'est de tenir le nôtre sur un pied d'égalité sinon de supériorité. Nous y parviendrons cependant, en autant que nos efforts tendront vers ce but et que tous les hommes de bonne volonté mettront la main à la manœuvre.

Ce à quoi il faut tendre, tout d'abord, c'est l'enrôlement des hommes, en faisant comprendre à notre population que ces exercices militaires sont propres à entretenir chez elle la force et le courage.

Quand on ouvre l'histoire de notre pays et que nos regards s'arrêtent sur ces pages qui nous rappellent la période sanglante en même temps que glorieuse de son enfance, on se sent pris d'aise et l'on se sent bercer par ce sentiment d'enthousiasme que les exploits de nos pères réveillent en nous.

Puis, peu à peu, la première impression passée et la réflexion ayant fait place à l'admiration, on est porté à se demander où les compagnons de Champlain et de Maisonneuve et ceux qui suivirent la route généreuse qu'ils avaient tracée, puisaient la force qui leur faisait accomplir des prodiges et le courage qui leur faisait affronter tous les périls.

Leur courage! Il leur venait de Dieu et de l'amour de ce sol vierge et puissant qu'ils avaient juré d'arracher à l'idolâtrie et de placer sous la bienfaisante influence de la civilisation.

Leur force! Elle leur était acquise par la nécessité de manier le mousquet ou le sabre tout aussi bien que les mancherons de leur charrue. A l'instar des premiers enfants de Rome, toujours exposés aux attaques sans cesse répétées de leurs ennemis, la constance et la valeur leur devinrent familières.

Et ce besoin de faire des exercices violents entretenait leurs muscles et leur donnait la ténacité de l'acier. C'est là tout le secret

de leur gloire et de leurs œuvres. On nous dira peut-être que nous ne sommes pas dans les mêmes conditions, que l'ennemi n'est pas à nos portes et que pas n'est besoin d'enlever aux affaires un temps précieux pour le consacrer à des exercices sans doute très importants, mais cependant secondaires. Ce raisonnement tombe à faux et sa subtilité peut un jour ou l'autre devenir cause de cuisants regrets. Voyez cette foule d'écoliers et de gens de profession ou de bureau qui circule à travers les artères de notre cité. Les épaules s'abaissent et les molets disparaissent, le corps s'atrophie, c'est le manque d'exercices corporels qui en est la cause.

Ce langage de l'organe nationaliste d'alors contraste fortement avec celui de la presse nationaliste d'aujourd'hui.

Tel est le portrait du nationalisme canadien-français vers la fin du XIX^e siècle.

A partir de la guerre sud-africaine on constate une évolution, qui se produit surtout sous l'influence d'un nouveau chef, Henri Bourassa.

Deuxième Partie: 1899-1911

Jusqu'ici le nationalisme canadien-français n'a pas manifesté de tendance vers l'émancipation, ni pour le Canada entier, ni pour le groupe canadien-français. Il est opposé à l'annexion aux États-Unis, malgré l'opinion de Nevers. Il ne songe pas à se séparer de l'Angleterre; il exprime simplement le regret que la justice soit trop ménagée à la minorité.

La Vérité de Tardivel restera fidèle à ce programme. *L'Etandard* n'existe plus. C'est alors que fut lancé à Montréal le mouvement de la *Ligue Nationaliste*. L'animateur de ce mouvement est Olivier Asselin. Né en 1874 Asselin fit une partie des études classiques au Séminaire de Rimouski, puis il s'en alla aux États-Unis faire du journalisme de 1893 à 1899. Il se rend à Montréal en 1900; c'est là et alors qu'il jette les bases de la Ligue nationaliste, qui devait paraître au grand jour dans une assemblée publique tenue à Montréal en 1903 et trouver une expression dans un journal hebdomadaire, *Le Nationaliste*, dont le premier numéro parut le 6 mars, 1904.

Voici comment Asselin raconte cette aventure:

Toute la jeunesse de la Province en frissonna! Elle adhéra à la Ligue. J'ai commencé ma carrière politique au Canada vers 1900. Je me trouvais sur la route de M. Bourassa; je le suivis. Je voyais comme lui avec horreur le crime sud-africain. C'est lui qui m'enseigna à distinguer, dans le cas de l'Angleterre, entre les aventuriers qui, là comme ailleurs, se hissent au pouvoir par l'exploitation des aveugles passions populaires, et les hommes courageux qui, de génération en génération, se sont transmis le mot d'ordre de la résistance à toutes les tyrannies: celles de la plèbe comme celles des rois. Opposant à la démagogie d'un Chamberlain l'indomptable courage . . . moral, d'un Campbell-Bannerman . . . et . . . d'un Lloyd-Georges: "Voilà, disait-il, la véritable Angleterre. C'est de celle-là que nous tenons nos libertés, c'est vers elle que nous devrons toujours nous tourner pour réclamer justice." Le directeur du *Devoir* n'a pas changé d'opinion sur ce point. Il croit encore qu'il ne faut pas confondre les institutions britanniques avec les demi-civilisés qui en ont

le dépôt sur un point quelconque du territoire britannique. Je le crois avec lui. Il sait que si nous conservons l'espoir de recouvrer nos droits scolaires en Ontario, c'est par le mécanisme des institutions britanniques. Et moi aussi, je le sais. Et donc, nous marchons pour les institutions britanniques parce que par elles-mêmes, et indépendamment des demi-civilisés qui les appliquent aujourd'hui en Ontario, elles valent la peine qu'on se batte pour elles. Et nous marchons pour la Belgique, parce que dans cette guerre elle incarne le droit violé, la liberté des petits peuples foulés aux pieds. Et nous marchons pour la France, parce que sa défaite, en même temps qu'elle marquerait une régression du monde vers la barbarie, nous condamnerait, nous ses enfants d'Amérique, à traîner désormais des vies diminuées.⁷

Ce n'est là, encore, que réaction et défense, comme on peut le voir dans l'exposé suivant:

Nous avons fait nos premières concessions et subi nos premières défaites quand nous formions presque la moitié du pays. Durant toutes ces années de 1873 à 1911, qu'on pourrait appeler l'époque des capitulations, jamais nous ne nous sommes montrés si lâches; si veules, si menteurs aux ancêtres et à nous-mêmes, qu'aux environs de 1890, alors que nous étions encore un tiers de la population. Il suffit d'un coup d'œil sur tout ce passé de honte, pour nous convaincre que nous avons été nous-mêmes nos pires ennemis. La fierté qui crée l'union nous a fait défaut; nous avons été les uns aux autres des délateurs, nous avons apporté dans la lutte des âmes d'affranchis. L'Histoire, qui se répète depuis les origines de l'humanité ne se détournera pas de son cours. Ravis, presque étonnés d'avoir échappé au cataclysme de 1760, et aux cent ans d'orages qui suivirent, nous nous sommes abandonnés depuis à une vie toute végétative, sur une terre

... humide encore et molle de déluge.

Les agressions dont nous étions l'objet, nous les regardions comme de simples incidents, des accidents peut-être, mais des accidents sans importance, quelquefois même d'heureux accidents, en ce que, habilement exploités, ils pouvaient faire arriver au pouvoir le parti ou les hommes politiques de notre choix. Verrons-nous enfin plus clair? Ouvrirons-nous les yeux sur ce fait de toute évidence, qu'étant ce que nous sommes, et placés où nous sommes, nous aurons la paix en reniant et langue et religion, et pas autrement, que l'épreuve qui vient de commencer est de celles qui durent non pas dix années, non pas vingt années, mais des centaines et des centaines d'années? La Providence ne fera pas pour nous plus qu'elle n'a fait pour son propre peuple, le peuple juif.⁸

La Ligue recrute aussitôt des adhésions, chez les Canadiens français d'abord et naturellement, chez des Canadiens anglais aussi, tel le cas de Goldwin Smith, et même dans un milieu très différent, celui du Congrès des Métiers et du Travail.

Goldwin Smith écrit, le 13 mars, 1904, dès la parution du premier numéro du *Nationaliste*:

Je m'enrôle volontiers parmi les abonnés à votre journal, dont je salue avec joie l'apparition. Le *Nationaliste* surgit à un moment

⁷Joseph Gauvreau, *Olivar Asselin, précurseur d'action française; le plus grand de nos journalistes, 1875-1937* (Montréal, 1937), 21-2. ⁸Ibid. 23-4.

critique; il a une tâche importante à remplir. Nous, les habitants du Canada anglais, avons l'heureuse certitude de la disposition de nos concitoyens français à vivre avec nous en termes de cordiale amitié, et de leur désir de s'unir à nous pour promouvoir les intérêts et soutenir l'honneur de notre patrie commune. Mais il est bon que l'on rappelle aux Canadiens anglais qu'ils ne sont pas les seuls habitants du Canada, qui compte aujourd'hui parmi ses citoyens, à part vos compatriotes, des représentants de plusieurs races différentes. On ne doit pas s'attendre à ce que les éléments non britanniques de notre population voient sans protester leurs intérêts sacrifiés à ceux d'un parti politique de la Grande-Bretagne dont les fins, quelque glorieuses qu'elles puissent paraître à ceux qui les poursuivent, ne satisfont que l'ambition britannique. On ne doit pas non plus s'attendre à ce que le Canadien français se laisse dépouiller de la moindre parcelle de son autonomie ou sacrifie les fruits de son travail pour assurer la réalisation d'un rêve impérialiste. Les citoyens de ce pays sont venus ici pour gagner leur pain et le pain de leurs familles, et non pour aider, par leur travail à des entreprises militaires où ils ne sont pas intéressés et qui ne peuvent rien leur rapporter. Il est temps que ce côté de la question impérialiste soit montré: c'est l'œuvre à laquelle votre journal pourra contribuer. En même temps, il soufflera dans l'atmosphère étouffante de notre politique un peu de l'air frais du patriotisme et de l'espoir de la jeunesse.⁹

La Ligue recevra bientôt l'appui d'une recrue importante, Armand Lavergne.

Né en 1880, Armand Lavergne s'était passionné très jeune pour la vie et les questions politiques. Mais même à cet âge, il ne perdait pas de vue les grands problèmes nationaux. "La première question des écoles dont je me souvienne, écrit-il, nous reporte à 1896. J'avais seize ans et j'étais en rhétorique. La jeunesse, dans les écoles de ce temps-là, était ardemment, passionnément libérale. Dans ma classe, sur vingt-huit que nous étions, nous comptions vingt-sept libéraux Pour nous Laurier, c'était la revanche de 1760: on nous avait ressassé, et nous étions ressassé, jusqu'au dessus de l'entendement, que nous n'aurions rien avec un anglo-protestant, orangiste (qui ne l'était pas) comme Tupper. Mais avec un premier ministre canadien-français!!!"

Je n'exagère pas. Qu'on demande aux jeunes libéraux de mon temps. Avec quel dédain supérieur nous avions écouté les sages, les clairvoyantes paroles du mandement des évêques; avec quel lourd mépris nous parlions de celui que, maintenant, je sais avoir été le martyr du droit, l'hostie volontairement offerte pour notre salut, Mgr Langevin. Nous avions le sentiment national faussé.¹⁰

Avant même que la Ligue soit née Lavergne est nationaliste de conviction, à cause de la Guerre du Transvaal, à cause de Bourassa. "Elu en 1904, à l'âge de vingt-quatre ans, député à la Chambre des Communes, il garde ses convictions. Parce qu'il rappelle les promesses que Laurier a faites à la minorité franco-manitobaine, promesses qui n'ont pas été tenues, il est évincé du parti libéral." Dans l'entretemps, il avait réclamé, pour la première fois à la Chambre des Communes,

⁹Le Nationaliste, 20 mars, 1904.

¹⁰Un Patriote, Armand Lavergne, L'Œuvre des Tracts, no. 190 (Montreal, 1935), 6.

l'application de la lettre même de la Constitution: la reconnaissance des droits du français et, partant, des timbres et de la monnaie bilingues."¹¹

Quel était le programme de la Ligue nationaliste? Voici comment le présente Joseph Gauvreau dans sa brochure sur *Olivar Asselin*:

La ligue nationaliste, fondée par Asselin, fit adopter son programme, dans une grande assemblée populaire, tenue à Montréal, le 1^{er} mars 1903. M. Omer Héroux agissait comme secrétaire. Il a conservé l'original de ces résolutions annotées, et il les a publiées, au surlendemain de la mort d'Asselin, dans le *Devoir*. Nous en avons actuellement sous les yeux une copie, imprimée chez Léger Mercier, 40 rue St-Dominique, Montréal, en 1903. Le programme de la Ligue est ramassé en trois petits alinéas qui se lisent comme suit:

1. Pour le Canada, dans ses relations avec la Grande-Bretagne, la plus large mesure d'autonomie compatible avec le maintien du lien colonial;

2. Pour les provinces canadiennes, dans leurs relations avec le pouvoir fédéral, la plus large mesure compatible avec le maintien du lien fédéral;

3. Adoption par le gouvernement fédéral et les gouvernements provinciaux d'une politique de développement économique et intellectuelle canadienne.

Comme programme, ce n'était pas compromettant, mais cela laissait la porte ouverte à toutes les revendications possibles. De la qualité à obtenir. Chaque acte gouvernemental, fédéral ou provincial, devait, par la suite, sous la poussée de ses protagonistes, illuminer le programme de la Ligue de rayons insoupçonnés. Un an plus tard, le 6 mars 1904, l'organe indispensable au mouvement, "Le Nationaliste" était fondé. . .¹²

Ce texte reçoit une forte lumière des commentaires suivants:

"Mais le nationalisme vint. Il secoua les dormeurs. Il éveilla les comateux. Il souffla les lâches. Il connut et fit connaître les minorités. Il les montra, dépouillées, appauvries, blessées au vif, écorchées, traitées en parias. Comme Véronique sur le chemin du calvaire, il essuya leur face sanglante. On lui dit: "Tais-toi et disparaît. Tu es la minorité." Il ne s'effaça pas, ne se tut pas, ne s'agenouilla pas, ne tendit pas le cou au joug, ni la poitrine aux décorations. Il resta debout parmi la masse hésitante et déjà mi-conquise par la doctrine insinuante et lâche des concessions à outrance. Toujours faites à son détriment. Et, chez elle, des échines se dégagèrent à point, se levèrent, des courages se dressèrent, encore invaincus, mais à la veille de la faiblesse. Et le nationalisme les groupa.

"Il osa repousser dédaigneusement du pied cette doctrine fausse d'une race supérieure ne parlant qu'une langue et d'une race inférieure en parlant deux. Il dit à la première: "Je sais ta langue, mais je tiens la mienne. Elle a ses droits, je les lui garderai." A la seconde, il dit: "Tu n'es pas inférieure. . . Tu vaux celle qui t'humilie. Tiens-toi, debout. Réclame tes droits. Tu en as assez livré, garde le reste. Défends-toi, la justice est avec toi." Il emboucha le clairon de la fierté nationale. Il souleva les draperies mensongères du fair-play comme le pratiquaient les pseudo-britanniques du pays et montra, sous les apparences fausses de la justice, les spoliations

¹¹*Ibid.*, 6

¹²*Gauvreau, Olivar Asselin*, 24.

réelles pratiquées contre le faible, avec la complicité des abandonneurs de nos droits. Il fit voir le chemin parcouru par l'humiliation nationale et la disparition ultime dans le bloc anglo-saxon et dit au Québec français: "Tu vaux mieux que cette destinée. Marche désormais vers un autre but, plus digne de la France d'où vinrent tes ancêtres. Cesse de t' isoler des groupes français épars sur le continent. Recherche-les, unissez-vous. Et que le frère riche secoure le plus pauvre. Nos destinées à tous sont solidaires, n'abandonne aucun membre de la race."

Et le Québec se tourna vers ses frères des autres provinces. Il leur tendit la main. Tous s'appuyèrent sur lui, comme, dans l'Ontario, de toutes parts, lundi soir; les regards se tournaient vers le Québec, la province-mère d'où doit venir l'assistance et l'appui dans la lutte pour la victoire du droit imprescriptible. Et ensemble la famille française de l'Amérique dit, en réponse à l'appel claironnant du nationalisme: "Assez d'indifférence à notre sort final! Marchons épaule à épaule. Nous sommes de race fière et noble et qui vaut l'anglo-saxonne. Soyons de bons sujets britanniques, mais gardons notre caractère de Français, notre langue, notre caractère distinctif."¹³

Le nouveau nationalisme reçoit tout l'héritage du précédent, dans le domaine de la langue française, de la religion catholique, des intérêts français.

D'autre part il s'apparente assez nettement au nationalisme pratiqué par John A. Macdonald et autres hommes d'État canadiens-anglais.¹⁴

C'est un nationalisme "canadien" au sens large du mot, et non pas seulement canadien-français, comme l'était celui de *L'Etendard* et comme l'était encore celui de *La Vérité*. Ce point est important et plusieurs documents l'établissent.

Un mois à peine après la parution du *Nationaliste*, *La Vérité* de Québec traçait la ligne de démarcation entre son nationalisme et celui de la Ligue nationaliste:

Notre nationalisme à nous [dit-il] est le nationalisme canadien-français. Nous travaylons, depuis 23 ans, au développement du sentiment national canadien-français; ce que nous voulons voir fleurir, c'est le patriotisme canadien-français; les nôtres pour nous, sont les Canadiens français; la patrie, pour nous, nous ne disons pas que c'est précisément la province de Québec, mais le Canada français; la nation que nous voulons voir se fonder à l'heure marquée par la divine Providence, c'est la nation canadienne-française. Ces messieurs de la Ligue paraissent se placer à un autre point de vue. On dirait qu'ils veulent travailler au développement d'un sentiment canadien, indépendamment de toute question d'origine, de langue, de religion.¹⁵

Le Nationaliste ne tarda pas à répondre, par la voix d'Henri Bourassa (3 avril, 1904);

La Ligue Nationaliste m'a confié à plusieurs reprises la tâche de faire connaître son drapeau et ses principes. On me permettra d'être, ici encore, son interprète. Dès l'abord, je tiens à exprimer toute

¹³*Ibid.*, 24-7.

¹⁴Sur ce point lire la thèse de Mlle. Helen L. Davison sur *Sir John Macdonald and Imperial relations in the period 1878-1891* et celle de Murray G. Lawson sur *Canada's Imperial relations, 1902-1914*, à l'université de Toronto.

¹⁵*La Vérité*, 2 avril, 1904.

l'estime et l'admiration que m'inspire le directeur de *La Vérité*. On ne saurait trop reconnaître avec quel courage et quelle persévérance il a guerroyé, à travers de nombreuses contradictions, pour défendre la nationalité canadienne-française contre les entreprises des *anglicisants* et des *gallicisants*, des fusionnistes et des exotiques. Mais cette lutte prolongée a développé chez lui une méfiance exagérée à l'endroit de ceux qui conçoivent autrement que lui le patriotisme et le sentiment national. La Ligue Nationaliste et son organe veulent incontestablement "travailler au développement d'un sentiment canadien," mais loin de vouloir développer ce sentiment "indépendamment de toute question d'origine, de langue, et de religion," la Ligue proclame hautement que la dualité d'origine, de langue et de religion, du peuple canadien doit être reconnue et conservée. Elle en fait même un des articles de son programme. Maintien absolu des droits garantis aux provinces par la constitution de 1867 dans l'intention de ses auteurs. Respect du principe de la dualité des langues et du droit des minorités à des écoles séparées.

Pour rendre sa pensée encore plus claire, Bourassa termine son article par ce passage, qui condense bien la doctrine du nouveau nationalisme:

Notre nationalisme à nous est le nationalisme canadien fondé sur la dualité des races et sur les traditions particulières que cette dualité comporte. Nous travaillons au développement du patriotisme canadien qui est à nos yeux la meilleure garantie de l'existence des deux races et du respect mutuel qu'elles se doivent. Les nôtres, pour nous comme pour M. Tardivel, sont les Canadiens français; mais les Anglo-Canadiens ne sont pas des étrangers, et nous regardons comme des alliés tous ceux d'entre eux qui nous respectent et qui veulent comme nous le maintien intégral de l'autonomie canadienne. La patrie, pour nous, c'est le Canada tout entier, c'est-à-dire une fédération de races distinctes et de provinces autonomes. La nation que nous voulons voir se développer, c'est la nation canadienne, composée des Canadiens français et des Canadiens anglais, c'est-à-dire de deux éléments séparés par la langue et la religion, et par les dispositions légales nécessaires à la conservation de leurs traditions respectives, mais unies dans un sentiment de fraternité, dans un commun attachement à la patrie commune.

Cette mise au point n'eut pas l'heure de plaire au directeur de *La Vérité*. Celui-ci avait plus d'âge que les animateurs du nouveau nationalisme et il se permit de leur servir une leçon, sous prétexte de leur faire des souhaits. Cette fois la réponse du *Nationaliste* porte comme signature, non plus celle d'Henri Bourassa, mais celle de "la direction." La réponse était sèche et cinglante.¹⁶

Le seul point où les deux journaux furent d'accord c'est celui de la lutte à l'impérialisme britannique. Le 3 avril, 1904, *Le Nationaliste* reproduit de larges extraits de *La Vérité*, sous le titre "Impérialisme pour impérialisme."

Henri Bourassa collaborait au *Nationaliste*, mais il tenait à garder son indépendance. Assez tôt, le 27 mars, 1904, il tint à établir ses positions:

Un peu partout, on considère que le *Nationaliste* est mon organe. Dimanche dernier, M. Asselin a défini la position du *Nationaliste* en

¹⁶ *Le Nationaliste*, "La Vérité et le nationalisme," 25 avril, 1904.

face des partis. On me permettra de définir la mienne à l'endroit du *Nationaliste*. Je ne suis ni le fondateur, ni le propriétaire, ni le directeur, ni le rédacteur du *Nationaliste*. Je possède un douzième seulement de son capital-actions. Je suis l'un de ses collaborateurs du dehors, seul responsable des articles que j'écris et que je signe, et je n'exerce aucun contrôle immédiat ou lointain sur les autres articles qui y paraissent non plus que sur l'administration et la direction du journal. Voilà qui est clair, je pense. A mes quasi-intimes, cette courte explication suffira. J'en ajoute une autre à l'intention d'une catégorie beaucoup plus nombreuse de lecteurs qui ne connaissent pas ou qui connaissent imparfaitement l'origine du *Nationaliste*. Depuis longtemps, je regrettai l'absence d'un journal, tout modeste qu'il fût, qui traitât des questions nationales et politiques à un point de vue absolument indépendant des partis. Il y a bien *La Vérité*, dont je reconnais toute la bonne et salutaire influence. Mais *La Vérité* est avant tout un journal religieux. Elle n'atteint qu'un public spécial et nécessairement restreint. Je voulais voir naître et vivre une feuille plus populaire, qui attînt la foule. Pour cela, il fallait un homme et des fonds: un homme qui refusât obstinément de se vendre ou même de se louer, et un capital suffisant à assurer l'existence d'un journal qui pût se passer de tous les appuis louches ou compromettants. Je rencontrai M. Asselin. Par tempérament et par conviction, il voulait être journaliste à la façon que je souhaitais. Il trouvait des collaborateurs animés du même esprit. Après quelques pourparlers, je consentis à leur prêter mon concours pour organiser une compagnie et je leur promis des articles.

Bourassa s'élevait, comme l'avait fait F.-X. Trudel dans *L'Etendard*, contre l'esprit de parti; d'autre part il reconnaissait l'importance de la règle parlementaire de deux grands partis politiques; il réclame seulement une saine critique:

Voici des jeunes gens qui ont du talent, du caractère et des idées. Ils veulent échapper à l'esclavage sordide que le journalisme de parti impose à ses ouvriers. Je suis homme de parti—oh! pas des plus dociles,—mais enfin, j'appartiens à un parti politique et je reconnais volontiers que le régime parlementaire nécessite l'organisation et le maintien de deux partis. Toutefois, je crois bon que les partis—le mien comme les autres—soient surveillés, critiqués et au besoin bousculés par une presse libre.

Si l'esprit de parti était ici ce qu'il est en Angleterre, la nécessité de journaux indépendants serait moins impérieuse. En Angleterre, la discipline de parti comporte une très grande liberté de pensée, de parole et même d'action. Ici non seulement faut-il voter avec son parti, mais on doit, sous peine d'excommunication majeure, écrire, parler, penser, respirer, manger et dormir suivant les strictes règles du protocole disciplinaire *rouge* ou *bleu*. Ce régime engendre l'abrutissement moral et intellectuel des hommes publics et la démoralisation de la pensée et de l'action populaire. De plus, il offre au pays un danger immédiat et très grave.

Nos partis politiques, de moins en moins divisés par les principes, se disputent la victoire, non pour assurer le triomphe d'une idée, mais pour récolter les honneurs et les profits du pouvoir. Au fond, sous le couvert de luttes acrimonieuses qui visent surtout les hommes

et les méthodes d'administration, les deux partis s'entendent comme larrons en foire pour ménager toutes les grosses influences. Que les autorités impériales veuillent nous imposer quelque action conforme à leurs désirs,—comme il est arrivé pour la guerre d'Afrique,—immédiatement elles ont à leur service les orateurs, les journalistes et les bataillons des deux partis; et toute discussion sérieuse de leurs projets est étouffée. Les grands financiers—constructeurs et directeurs de chemin de fer, les manufacturiers, agents de change et d'agiotage, commerçants de bois—agissent de même et réussissent à merveille à faire protéger leurs priviléges par tous les ministères. Qu'on observe de près les mouvements de la politique, à Ottawa et à Québec, et l'on constatera que cette tendance pernicieuse s'accentue chaque jour. Il est urgent qu'une presse indépendante des partis, des coteries et des syndicats de la finance éveille l'opinion publique et mette le peuple en garde contre les dangers qui menacent notre intégrité nationale et notre équilibre économique. C'est dans cette pensée que les actionnaires du *Nationaliste*, appartenant à des groupes et à des milieux très divers se sont unis pour en assurer l'existence matérielle. C'est dans la même pensée que je lui donne ma collaboration et que je me tiens responsable, ici comme ailleurs, de tout ce que j'y signe et de rien de plus.

Le nationalisme avait, dans les milieux de langue anglaise, des tenants enthousiastes, en particulier dans la personne de M. John S. Ewart. Henri Bourassa fut amené à définir son attitude à l'égard de cette autre nuance nationaliste. Il le fit dans un article intitulé "Le Canada est-il une nation?"

L'idéal de M. Ewart, c'est une fédération d'États souverains unis par le seul lien de l'obéissance à la même couronne.

M. Ewart est plus radical que moi. Je ne trouve pas la position du Canada aussi humiliante qu'il la peint; et, partant, je ne désire pas, pour l'instant, un affranchissement aussi complet que celui qu'il réclame. Mais je ne veux pas, sur une nuance de ce genre, chercher noise à l'éminent jurisconsulte. Dans l'ensemble, je ne peux qu'applaudir à sa thèse, qui est, sous une forme accentuée, celle de la Ligue nationaliste: Pas de séparation: mais plus de liberté.

Si l'opinion publique des provinces anglaises secouait le joug que lui font porter les politiciens et les gazettiers et se manifestait hautement, on constaterait que la pensée de M. Ewart est celle de la majorité des Anglo-Canadiens.

Par malheur, trop de nos gazettiers et de nos politiciens, à nous, favorisent l'œuvre de leurs congénères anglais en s'efforçant de paralyser l'action de ceux qui veulent stimuler chez les nôtres la fierté nationale et l'amour de la patrie canadienne.

Cette alliance est naturelle, et les méthodes respectives des alliés s'enchaînent logiquement. Le faux orgueil impérialiste qui a fait la guerre d'Afrique, l'esprit d'intolérance et de domination qui, dans la plupart des provinces anglaises, s'attaquent périodiquement à l'idée franco-canadienne et catholique, ne pouvaient trouver chez nous d'autres complices que l'aveulissement des caractères et l'aveuglement des esprits.

Mais comme le dit avec raison M. Ewart, "les Canadiens se réveillent." Puisse le moment n'être pas éloigné où Canadiens

français et Anglo Canadiens, débarrassés des hypocrisies, des lâchetés, des mesquineries qui les ligottent aujourd'hui, sauront se comprendre et travailler d'accord à élargir le champ d'action du peuple canadien!

Pour y arriver, il faut aux deux races un idéal commun; paix, justice et liberté.¹⁷

Ce mouvement déclenche aussitôt une nouvelle floraison d'œuvres de défense en divers domaines, et selon les facteurs qui ont agi chez les autres peuples.

Pour mieux cultiver la langue maternelle on fonde à Québec la Société du Parler français (1902). Sur le terrain des Beaux-Arts on établit la Société Symphonique de Québec (1902). En littérature l'abbé Camille Roy prêche par des conférences et des livres qui ont un grand retentissement la nationalisation des œuvres littéraires. Dans le domaine national on voit naître la Société de l'Assomption (1902) et une grande effervescence chez les Franco-américains. On prépare des fêtes nationales splendides, comme celles du Troisième Centenaire de Québec et celles du Deuxième Centenaire de l'Evêque Laval, en 1908. Les congrégations religieuses elles-mêmes se nationalisent, par l'élimination des sujets français et des sujets irlandais.

Et surtout on voit surgir une entreprise tout-à-fait nouvelle, l'organisation de la jeunesse, dans les cadres de l'Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canadienne-française, appelée l'A.C.J.C., en 1904.

Le journal *Le Nationaliste* salue aussitôt la naissance de cette Association dans un article intitulé "Nationalisme et A C J C" (8 mai, 1904).

L'Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française a bravement inscrit à son programme l'étude des questions politiques et sociales dont l'intérêt de la race canadienne-française réclame la solution immédiate: l'éducation, l'agriculture, la colonisation, le commerce et l'industrie, les relations du capital et du travail. Nos jeunes amis ont compris que le catholicisme est essentiellement une œuvre sociale, et que suivant le mot d'un de nos confrères français, les peuples sont voués à la destruction qui choisissent l'heure où l'ennemi bat leurs remparts en brèche, pour discuter si la lumière qui apparut sur le Thabor était créée ou incrée. Immédiatement après la question religieuse—lisons-nous dans le programme de l'Association—plaçons la question nationale, étudiée à la lumière des enseignements de notre histoire; mission providentielle des Canadiens français; aptitudes de notre race; ressources de notre sol; nos droits à sa possession; la nécessité de rester fidèles à notre tradition et de garder notre entité distincte; nos obligations coloniales; notre position en présence des autres races et à l'égard du pouvoir libéral; notre rang parmi les nations sous le rapport de l'éducation, du commerce, etc.; un patriotisme purement canadien-français, une autonomie toujours plus grande; la résistance à toute tentative d'absorption; dangers de la partisannerie politique; l'Acte de la Confédération; la langue française; la liberté religieuse reconnue par la charte du pays.

Il n'y a rien là-dedans que nous n'approvions de tout cœur, avec la réserve déjà faite par M. Bourassa dans son amicale réponse à M. Tardivel, savoir, qu'à nos yeux le patriotisme canadien-français

¹⁷Il y aurait beaucoup plus à dire sur la discussion entre M. M. Bourassa et Ewart. M. T. S. Ewart possède à ce sujet une correspondance importante qui fournirait matière à un article séparé.

n'est pas incompatible avec un patriotisme plus large, s'étendant à tout le pays découvert par nos pères.

L'Association catholique, d'accord avec la Ligue Nationaliste, revendique le droit des minorités à des écoles séparées.

Les buts de la nouvelle Association plaisent fort au *Nationaliste*. Sur les moyens d'action il pouvait y avoir désaccord, mais il n'en est rien. Olivier Asselin souligne la qualité des méthodes que les jeunes se proposent de mettre en œuvre:

Le programme dit en parlant de l'instruction publique:

Il est clair que les ennemis portent sur ce point leurs plus constants efforts. Reconnaissions aussi que la plupart de ceux qui les combattent savent trop facilement se payer de mots, à l'exemple d'ailleurs de leurs antagonistes.

Cet aveu nous plaît. Il montre que la jeunesse catholique, tout en approuvant la guerre à la franc-maçonnerie, réprouve les excès de zèle de l'enseignement, des volumes de statistique extra-superficielle, capable de rendormir pour toujours l'opinion publique à peine éveillée, à la nécessité d'une réforme de l'instruction primaire. Il est temps que les catholiques, au lieu de traiter de francs-maçons tous ceux qui croient que nos instituteurs sont mal rémunérés, que nos écoles sont encore trop petites et trop imparfaitement aménagées, que le bureau central d'examens est d'une utilité problématique, que les taxes scolaires sont en général trop peu élevées et que l'uniformité des livres dans les limites d'une même municipalité peut avoir du bon—it est temps, disons-nous, que les catholiques prennent la tête du mouvement; qu'ils reconnaissent que la meilleure réponse à faire aux critiques du système actuel serait, par exemple, d'amener les contribuables de Montréal à construire quelques-unes de ces quinze écoles nouvelles que Mgr Bruchési réclame pour les seuls quartiers compris entre les rues Guy et Saint-Laurent.

Pour ce qui est de la colonisation, l'Association étudiera: "les régions colonisables du Canada français; les avantages particuliers ou difficultés spéciales à chacune; le recrutement des colons; les secours fournis par le gouvernement; comme la loi facilite ou devrait faciliter l'ouverture des centres de colonisation; nos sociétés de colonisation; le rôle qu'elles sont appelées à remplir; le moyen de les multiplier et de leur donner plus d'efficacité, etc."

Au chapitre du commerce et de l'industrie, notons un des articles les plus importants du programme nationaliste; conservation des ressources naturelles du sol aux enfants du sol, dans la plus large mesure possible. . . .

Nous voudrions pouvoir citer encore d'autres parties du programme catholique, mais en voilà assez pour indiquer que la nouvelle association est plus qu'une confrérie pieuse; qu'elle entend bien ne pas perdre de vue qu'un état bien gouverné est encore un des plus beaux hommages que l'on puisse rendre à la divinité.

Nous assistons donc à tout un ensemble de manifestations. C'est un réveil. Les énergies se condensent sous la poussée d'une pression intérieure. Mais il existe aussi une pression extérieure. Il se produit des explosions qui exacerbent le sentiment national et qui fortifient le nationalisme. En voici quelques-unes: la question des écoles séparées dans l'Ouest, puis le règlement XVII en Ontario (août, 1913); les attaques(1)

orangistes contre la religion, la langue, les écoles séparées; l'intervention du Cardinal Bourne à Notre-Dame de Montréal au Congrès eucharistique en septembre, 1910; l'action de Mgr Fallon, évêque de London, 1910; et l'imposition manifeste, par un certain élément anglo-canadien, d'une sorte de cordon sanitaire autour du Québec en ce qui concerne la langue française et la vie française.

En 1910 se produit aussi un événement considérable, la fondation du *Devoir*, un journal quotidien nettement nationaliste.

Son programme comporte l'action dans le domaine social et politique. Sur le terrain politique il s'occupera du fédéral et du provincial. L'un des articles comporte: "L'autonomie la plus complète pour le Canada, compatible avec la fidélité à la Couronne britannique."

Il ne s'agit donc pas de rupture avec la Grande-Bretagne, mais d'autonomie dans les limites du Commonwealth.

On voit assez le chemin parcouru depuis 1881, depuis *La Vérité* et *L'Etandard*. Nationalisme de protection et d'émancipation se mêlent intimement désormais. La réaction contre les pressions extérieures se fait de plus en plus forte. L'évolution, cependant, n'est pas terminée. Elle se continuera et s'accentuera. Et d'abord dans la période de 1911 à 1919 et en particulier sous l'influence de la première Grande Guerre.

Un journal de Québec, *L'Événement*, frappé du changement, publiera en décembre 1919 et en janvier 1920, une série de treize articles sur "L'Evolution du nationalisme." Il signale les nombreux échecs politiques du groupe nationaliste et il montre que le groupe change son fusil d'épaule en abandonnant le terrain politique pour se lancer sur le terrain social et religieux.

Le même journal termine ses articles par une sorte de prophétie en parlant du *Bloc* nationaliste. Il a suffi de 23 années pour que la prophétie se réalise dans le *Bloc populaire*. Ces 23 années marquent une évolution encore plus profonde du nationalisme québécois, mais ce serait dépasser les cadres de ce mémoire que d'en traiter ici.

DISCUSSION

M. Falardeau stated that "nationalisme" in French Canada has a wide range of varieties, and argued that interpretations of it should be connected with the several groups and levels of population. He suggested that a study be made of the origins of the various trends and expressions, for instance, of the social and psychological factors which made the leadership of Bourassa and others possible. He cited with favour Hugh McLennan's interpretation of French-English relations in the recent novel, *Two Solitudes*. The author of the paper agreed that French Canadians should pursue studies of the sort suggested.

Mr. Ewart pointed out that his father had fought especially against the idea of Imperial federation.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION THROUGH THE SOCIAL STUDIES IN SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES

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IT is difficult to present a clear picture of education in the United States because of the extraordinary variety in school programmes, in curriculum, in institutional administration, and in community school relationships which exists throughout the United States. Not only does each of the forty-eight states have its own educational system, but within each state there is the greatest degree of variation among towns and cities and rural districts. In spite of this variation, however, it is desirable and possible to present briefly a cross-section description of the present status of the social studies in the schools of the United States. Against a background of that common denominator of present practice may be traced certain significant trends affecting education for international relations in the United States.

The social studies programme of the primary grades in United States schools is essentially an activity programme. It deals with home and school and neighbourhood life, adapting from these areas topics appropriate to the maturity of primary grade pupils. About grade III the programme is likely to become more systematic and "on the average" in the United States, to deal with "ways of living in many lands." The grade III work is increasingly a series of type-studies of life and customs under differing geographic conditions throughout the world. In the fourth grade pupils are likely to study materials dealing with their own region—the Middle West, the Pacific Coast, New England. In grade V this is expanded to study United States history with particular reference to the colonial period. In grade VI a study of the old world background of American life is fairly common. In all of grades I to VI the typical pupil studies a good deal about elementary geography.

It becomes much easier to trace the pattern of social studies instruction as one deals with the secondary school. In grade VII the pupil is likely to study geography, ending his formal study of that subject at about that grade level. In grade VIII he has a year's instruction in United States history which is primarily a narrative account of the settling and development of the country. In grade IX, the least certain year of the secondary school, the most commonly taught subject is social civics, a functional approach to local, state, and federal government. In grade X world history is commonly offered as an elective. In grade XI United States history is almost universally a required subject of study. In grade XII the social studies programme is climaxed by a year devoted to the study of modern problems and current affairs.

I should repeat and emphasize that this general picture of the social studies courses of study is a low common denominator of actual practices. Many schools are engaged in experimenting with closer adaptation of the programme to pupils' needs and to community characteristics. This widespread variety and experimentation, which are primary qualities of the American school system, I think, make the school programme more sensitive and flexible; from them emerge what may be fairly standard practice in the years that lie ahead.

The United States, like all other countries in the modern world, is undergoing extensive readjustments in terms of its international relations. These

readjustments are political and economic and cultural in nature. Education is no less free from the world current and trends of our time than is any other aspect of American life. Under the impact of war and the hopes of coming peace certain marked trends in the social studies curriculum may be discerned. They represent an American attempt to face world responsibilities more realistically and to prepare a generation of citizens informed and understanding in the international field. I should like on this occasion to point out certain of these movements in the social studies field.

The first of the trends that I should like to point out is that of making the story of United States history somewhat less ethnocentric than it has been in the past. There have been in recent years many studies of textbooks and courses of study leading to recommendations for increased understanding of the international relations in which the United States operates, of the cross-currents of world affairs. There have been attempts to lift the horizons of pupils beyond the confines of national boundary lines in order better to understand the nation itself. These attempts are inherently readjustments in the story of national history. They are efforts to teach our pupils more understandingly about the myth of isolation and the realities of United States relations with other countries. They are motivated by the highest type of scholarship and are not, except in very rare cases, influenced by pressure groups from outside the United States. The trend toward revising United States history in order to see the United States more adequately in its world setting is indigenous in current American scholarship and offers, I think, great possibility for improving the quality of intelligent and farsighted patriotism among young people. There are within the United States certain professional patriotic groups which seek to interpret United States history in terms of belligerence toward other nations. But those groups are not the dominant ones in terms of present trends.

Another aspect of American education which has influence on international relations is the treatment of world history in our schools. As already indicated, world history is very widely taught at about the tenth grade level. Too frequently in the past, world history courses in the schools have been encyclopedic arrangements of factual materials hopelessly crammed and uninteresting for pupils. Today among teachers of world history there is a marked inclination to deal with fewer major topics in world history, but to deal with topics which are selected more adequately and effectively. The world history course is increasingly for young people an interpretative course in which the basis of organization and focus of attention is on such significant aspects of world affairs as the rise of nationalism, industrialization, democracy, and imperialism. It seems fair to say that young students of world history today have a deeper understanding of the basic forces of modern times than was possible for them a few years ago.

Closely connected with both United States and world history is another trend of marked significance in the United States—that toward the increased study of certain world areas which have been neglected among us. In recent years there has been a heavy increase in the study of Latin America as a force in world affairs. Parallelling that there is a rapid rise of the study of Asiatic matters. Many of our schools recognize that the great streams of Occidental and Oriental culture have never been completely separated and are now flowing closer and closer together. In addition to increased study of Asia, there is rising interest in the study of the Soviet Union. There

are many influences today tending toward increased study of Canada in the schools of my country. This study of "neglected areas" such as Latin America, Asia, Russia, and Canada, does not mean necessarily diminishing interest in the more standard areas of study. It means only that the concept of world history and of the framework of national history is increasingly global in scope.

With the coming of the war, there was greatly increased study of geography in American schools. Part of this geographic instruction has been animated by interest in aviation geography and part of it by new techniques of map projection and consciousness of the importance of geographic factors in the war. But more than being a war phenomenon, the study of geography is of long range importance. There is every indication that in the years that lie immediately ahead some of the geographic material now widely taught in our elementary schools will be moved upward in the school curriculum and that geography will occupy a stronger place in the secondary school. There are many who believe that our ninth grade course in civics will shortly give way to a substantial geography course taught at that grade level, dealing with the earth's natural resources, their location, distribution, and control.

Another effect of the war has been to increase the time and attention given in the school programme to the study of current events. There is, in our schools, more attention to newspapers and magazines and to the far flung events of global conflict than we have ever had before. It is probable that the time spent on current affairs in schools will not greatly diminish with the end of the war. There is a marked tendency to tie the materials of the school programme closer and closer to the events and movements of current affairs. Since so many of these current affairs are of world importance the study of current affairs is in effect a means of increased study of international relations.

One final trend should be noted. It is concerned with teaching pupils more about the actual techniques of international relations. We have in the past, for example, in most of our history courses dismissed the making of an important treaty with a short summary of the terms of that treaty. Today we are more inclined to discuss how the treaty was made. Analysis of the place of public opinion in the shaping of international policies, analysis of the principles and practices of the League of Nations, of international law, of the World Court, and now of the United Nations charter, is increasingly an aspect of our school programme, especially in the final year of our twelve-year system.

These trends all lead to the conclusion that education in the United States—and especially the teaching of the social studies in our schools—are deeply influenced by the international crises in which we have been living. There is a strong moral conviction among the great body of American educators that such a conflict as we are now enduring must not come again. There is conviction that the efforts of schools must be bent toward creating an understanding of world factors and movements in the largest possible number of citizens. There is every effort to integrate this intellectual understanding of world affairs with deep respect for friendly nations. In these trends which have been noted is the effort to build a sound foundation for international understanding and respect. Such a foundation is the school's chief contribution to the maintenance of peace.*

*For the discussion on this article see page 81.

THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN CANADA

By CHARLES E. PHILLIPS
The University of Toronto

IN this short paper I shall deal only with teaching in the elementary and secondary schools, or in what some provinces call the junior and senior high school grades—VII to XIII. There is proportionately more teaching of international relations in adult education and in university education; but the public elementary and secondary schools have a special importance because they are attended by nearly all people, and the extent and nature of their teaching is relatively easy to discover and define.

In the schools most formal teaching of international relations is carried on, if at all, in connection with the study of history. It is therefore worth observing at the outset that the study of history in Canada is weighted in favour of a relatively restricted field. This fact may be emphasized and explained by turning back to the beginnings of public education in this province.

In the early nineteenth century, when schools in Upper Canada began to increase in number, about the only attention given to international affairs in connection with them arose from a fear that republican influences from the United States might weaken allegiance to the British crown. Men of position and influence were constant in their denunciation of text-books and teachers from across the line. Egerton Ryerson, for example, considered United States text-books unique in their hostility towards the governments and institutions of other countries, especially Great Britain; he found it shocking that books patently republican should be tolerated in the schools and even favoured by some teachers; in his argument against them he called attention to their "occasional remarks, or hints, against the Holy Scriptures, or the Christian religion"; yet he took some comfort in the fact that no one had found it "convenient to come forth publicly" and advocate their use.¹ United States teachers in Canada were described as "anti-British adventurers," all the worse when superior teaching skill made them popular in spite of their subversive propaganda.

Shortly after the introduction of authorized text-books in 1846, the use of United States geographies, histories, and readers declined to the vanishing point. At the same time it became possible to enforce the requirement, enacted in 1816, that a teacher must be a British subject. Then alarm about the teaching of republicanism subsided. Nevertheless from that time to this loyalty to the British connection has been presented as a virtue which the majority without exhortation might be tempted to forsake. This attitude, whether founded in fact or imagination, has made it seem a patriotic duty to give particular emphasis to British history in the schools.

Accordingly, in the English-speaking provinces from Manitoba eastward about two-thirds of the time spent on organized history from grades VII to XII is devoted to the study of British and Canadian history. It is as if the pupil had two native lands with a prior claim on his attention—

¹J. G. Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education* (28 vols., Toronto, 1894-1910), VI, 159, 283-4.

Canada and Great Britain. The consequence is that relatively little time is left for the study of other contemporary countries, especially if the claims of the ancient world have also to be satisfied. In the Province of Quebec, where less time is given to British history, a correspondingly greater emphasis is placed on certain periods and aspects of Canadian history, and again little time is left for the contemporary international scene.

Of course the study of Canada and Great Britain can be extended to a study of international relations. The interesting and informative little book by Professor George W. Brown, *Canadian Democracy in Action*, which has just been sent out for use in grade XII of all Ontario schools, has a last chapter on "Canadians as British and World Citizens." The new course on "Canada and the Modern World" for grade XIII in Ontario touches frequently on international relations. But the teacher in Canada cannot proceed with the same frank confidence in arousing an active student interest in world affairs because the Canadian public has not decided just how Canada may properly participate in the shaping of international policy—whether almost entirely by a share in determining imperial policies, or largely as an autonomous nation. Strong feelings on this matter make it more convenient to present international relations as a field in which Canadians are detached observers rather than shapers of events, with the result that no sense of responsibility is engendered.

The study of modern world history is the most obvious place for developing a broad interest in international relations. For reasons already stated not very much time can be given in Canada to this general field, and the loss is greater because it has been common practice to postpone such study until the higher grades (XI, XII, or XIII). The argument has been, of course, that we should wait until pupils have attained a certain maturity; but in practice this has meant waiting until a majority of pupils are no longer at school. However, in New Brunswick, Manitoba, and Alberta, world history now appears in the programme for grade IX. If it is not possible in this grade to arrive by a thorough study of recent history at a deep understanding of contemporary world problems, one should recognize that some knowledge and an awakened interest are better than the alternative in most cases—no study of modern world history at all.

It will be hard for members of a scholarly assembly like the Canadian Historical Association to admit the value of such a claim. But surely the purpose of teaching in the elementary and secondary schools is to produce, not just a few scholars, but a large number of interested citizens. For the average person knowledge is an ephemeral asset if he has not the attitudes and interests which will cause him to use and retain some of his information and make him willing and able to acquire more. A course of study and a type of teaching which might be excellent for a few mature and intelligent students may, and probably will, defeat its own purpose with a large proportion of the population in our elementary and secondary schools.

For this reason I would have you look with all sympathy you can on what may be called the social studies approach to the teaching of both national and international affairs. This approach is most widely used in the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia, where students in the senior high school grades study contemporary problems which lead back into history and cut across geographical boundaries. If one looks at the curriculum, there is an obvious loss of organized knowledge. But if one

looks to the effect on the thinking, attitudes, and interests of young people today there is a decided gain in functional value. Canadian education is such that we can move much further in the direction of the social studies approach, provided we do it intelligently, without any danger of disintegration.

Apart from the study of history, and some increasing emphasis on geography, Canadian schools give some regular attention to contemporary affairs by discussion of current events in the classroom, in auditorium periods, and in after-school clubs. One current-events magazine published in Canada for the use of school pupils has a circulation of sixteen thousand. Some of this attention to contemporary affairs is necessarily concerned with international relations.

To deal now with the subject in a broader way, I should like to enlarge somewhat on the work of the Canada-United States Committee on Education, which was mentioned briefly by Professor Wilson. This committee is one agency set up to foster and improve the teaching of international relations. Although its terms of reference embrace only relations between two great North American neighbours, the influence of the committee will extend much farther if, as is hoped, it becomes a model for the establishing of other similar committees between other pairs of countries.

Practically all of you will have read the committee's first publication, *Education for Mutual Understanding and Friendship between Canada and the United States*. I shall not therefore waste your time by giving an extended account of the committee's origin and purpose. Let me say rather that we are now trying to secure financial support for a number of studies of teaching materials and educational instruments in Canada and the United States which closely affect relations between the two countries—school text-books in history and geography, the content of courses in literature, music, and art, school broadcasting and educational films, the leisure reading of school pupils, and a dozen or more other items of various kinds. Members of the committee have been active in other ways—for example, in a conference held to encourage teachers and other students to take some part of their graduate courses in a university on the other side of the border, and also to encourage a freer use by universities of summer school teaching personnel from across the border.

In the teaching of international relations I would attach the highest importance to the attitude of the teachers themselves. For this reason one achievement of the Canada-United States Committee on Education seems to me to be of particular significance. At the suggestion of committee members, at least three universities this summer are conducting workshops for teachers in the field of Canada-United States relations. They are Harvard University, the University of British Columbia, and the University of Toronto.

The summer workshop at the Ontario College of Education, University of Toronto, has as its theme "Canada as a member of the British Commonwealth." It will be attended by thirty or forty teachers from both sides of the border. The teaching staff consists of two educators who will act as directors, one a Canadian and one from the United States, and lecturers drawn from three or four Ontario universities, including Queen's University. Teachers who attend the workshop will use a specially prepared collection of books, pamphlets, films, and other teaching materials; they

will take part in regular organized discussions; they will have plenty of opportunity to consult members of the teaching staff; they will visit centres of interest in Canadian life; and they will have other direct contacts with Canadian people and Canadian ways. Add to this planned programme the opportunities for teachers from two countries to get to know one another at meal-time and in residence life at the university. It is evident that these international workshops for teachers should help materially in making the classroom teaching of international relations sound, interesting, and convincing.

For one who would improve the teaching of any aspect of contemporary affairs, this is the most promising approach—reach the teacher first. The teacher who has sound knowledge and keen interest combined with an appreciation of the pupil's point of view and skill to arouse an abiding interest can achieve much. Without such a teacher any provision in the course of study is of little avail.

DISCUSSION*

Mr. McDermott opened the discussion by stressing the need of developing an international point of view through the teaching of history in particular, but through all teaching as well. He stated that a distinction should be kept between the subjects of history and current events. Teaching the latter does not necessarily mean the development of an international attitude of mind or understanding amongst students. They need historical background first. We must reach students who are not interested in the social sciences. We must make an international frame of mind seem practical to all students. Languages, for instance, of subjects other than history, can be a basically international subject for Canadians. It is important to reach students who do not go to university but who will be involved in Canadian international trade. International politics is a necessary subject of study for Canada's international safety. An international attitude is of importance to the proper development of the arts. Any lack in schools in the creating of an international attitude is not made up after graduation.

Mr. Skilling asked about the possibility of the development in Canadian universities of courses in the social sciences which would give an idea of international organization and relations. He suggested that the best approach to the study of international relations is to be found in the areal or regional approach. He cited the School of Slavonic Studies in London, and the war-time training of military governors in the United States as successful examples of this type of approach.

Professor Soward stated that there is not much direct teaching of international relations in Canadian universities but that this is carried on through other social sciences, especially history, economics, and geography. He cited his own experiment at the University of British Columbia in giving a course in the history of the twentieth century, in which he made use of newspapers as an instrument of teaching, as a successful way of developing an international attitude. He said that the establishment of the social studies programme in the schools of British Columbia has resulted in the development of a wider international outlook amongst students. We need to train

*This discussion also refers to the previous article on "The Teaching of International Relations in the United States" by Howard Wilson.

teachers in the use of the "problem method" which is particularly fitting for this field. The use of radio in the schools will be important in the future in this teaching. He instanced his own weekly commentaries on the news which have been used in the schools in British Columbia. He cited the demand of the Canadian Youth Commission for the introduction of more teaching of international relations in the schools as an indication of the attitude of young people. We should use voluntary organizations in the schools for arousing an interest in international relations.

Professor Sage also remarked upon the success of Professor Soward's course at the University of British Columbia.

Professor Lower considered that there was no need to worry about interest in international affairs in the universities and colleges. His students, he feels, are interested in the here and now perhaps to an alarming degree. This sort of thing can be overdone. There is a danger of losing the historical perspective. He protested against the divorce of political science from history which makes it simply a study of administrative problems.

Professor Fieldhouse asserted that the development of an international outlook is one of indirection rather than of direct teaching. He doubts if courses in international relations do much to develop an international attitude. That can be done better by a proper method of teaching history. He hopes that we will not have a system of clubs, organizations, etc., operating under directives.

Professor Burt indicated the possibility of an unofficial approach to the problem through teachers' organizations. He cited the success in this respect of the teachers' dining clubs in the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis.

Dean Douglas noted that we should encourage teachers of all subjects to make their students aware of international indebtedness. This can be shown through the historical development of each subject, and through the discussion of international contributions in each field.

Mr. Gray said that he is not very worried about the international outlook of the children in the schools of Ontario. The teachers will reflect the teaching of history in the universities and that is in good hands. The foundation of an international attitude is mostly well-laid without the pupils realizing that it is being done. The success of the teacher depends entirely on the approach used.

Professor Trotter insisted that universities as well as schools should regard the creation of intelligent citizens as a proper objective of education. As it is we are inclined to forget the "citizen" part in favour of the "intelligence." Our students and we ourselves suffer intellectual emasculation through over-objectivity. We cannot stop with the inculcation of a critical sense no matter how important that may be. The intellectual has been too often the irresponsible observer. We can't afford to turn out such people. We should avoid stressing terror of war too greatly in our teaching of international relations as this leads straight to policies of appeasement. The whole picture of motives of action in historical development and international affairs should be given so as to avoid the producing of "bystanders."

NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS AND SITES

By the NATIONAL PARKS BUREAU, LANDS, PARKS, AND FORESTS BRANCH,
DEPARTMENT OF MINES AND RESOURCES

THE National Parks Bureau is entrusted with the restoration, preservation, and administration of National Historic Parks and Sites and the commemoration of the public services of outstanding characters in Canadian history.

The Bureau is advised in this phase of its work by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, an honorary body composed of recognized historians representing the various parts of the Dominion. The personnel of the Board is as follows: Chairman, Dr. J. Clarence Webster, Shédiac, New Brunswick; Professor Fred Landon, London, Ontario; Professor D. C. Harvey, Halifax, Nova Scotia; the Honourable E. Fabre-Surveyer, Montreal, Quebec; J. A. Gregory, M.P., North Battleford, Saskatchewan; the Reverend Antoine d'Eschambault, St. Boniface, Manitoba; Major G. Lanctot, Dominion Archivist, Ottawa, Ontario; Professor M. H. Long, Edmonton, Alberta; Professor Walter N. Sage, Vancouver, British Columbia; W. D. Cromarty, National Parks Bureau, Ottawa, Ontario.

A general meeting of the Board was held in Ottawa, May 24-6, 1944, when many subjects relating to the historic background of the Dominion were reviewed and an additional number of sites selected to be marked by the Bureau at a later date. Of the many sites already considered by the Board, 332 have now been marked or acquired and 172 recommended for attention at a later date.

NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS

Fort Anne National Historic Park is situated in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. The museum building, restored in 1935, was originally the Officers' Quarters and was built in 1797-8 under the supervision of Edward, Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, when he was Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in North America with headquarters at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

New wheels were made for some of the old artillery guns which are mounted on the fort grounds; the woodwork in the Acadia Room was painted and several of the other rooms re-decorated; broken tiles in the museum floor were replaced; park benches were repaired and the roads and paths maintained. Additional articles of historical interest were obtained for the museum.

A total of 7,369 persons signed the museum register during the year.

Port Royal National Historic Park is situated at Lower Granville, Nova Scotia. A replica of the group of buildings which sheltered the first European settlers in Canada has been erected on the exact site where the Port Royal Habitation stood nearly three and a half centuries ago. The original Habitation was the headquarters for about two years of Samuel de Champlain, famous explorer and chief geographer to Henry IV of France, who chose the location and drew up the plan of settlement.

The cannon were painted; preserving liquid was applied to the roofs of the Habitation buildings and the doors painted; the woodwork in the

various rooms was polished; built-in bunks were constructed in Lescarbot's quarters and additional furnishings obtained. An interesting old French anvil, reported to have been found when digging a grave at Grand Pré in 1820, was acquired for display in the blacksmith shop.

Visitors registered in the park during the year numbered 2,196.

Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park is situated about three miles from the town of Louisburg, Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. Here were enacted the early stages of the long struggle which culminated in the possession of Canada for the British Crown. Erected more than two centuries ago by the French, who had named the settlement in honour of Louis XIV, King of France, Louisbourg was captured by the British forces in 1745, but was subsequently handed back to the French. The fortress was again besieged by the English and finally captured by them in 1758. It is interesting to recall that one of the brigades of infantry engaged in the recapture of Louisbourg was commanded by General Wolfe, who was later to die heroically at Quebec.

All inside and outside woodwork of the museum and caretaker's residence was painted and the doors varnished; the iron gratings over the basement windows of the museum were scraped and painted; the bridge over the moat leading to the ruins of the citadel was repaired; all field signs were painted and re-lettered and a number of new ones made.

A total of 2,617 persons signed the visitors' register.

Fort Beausejour National Historic Park is situated near Sackville, New Brunswick. Built by the French, the fort was intended to be an Acadian stronghold against the undefined claims of the English to Acadia. Around the fort the Acadians had their homes and farms. It was captured by the British, under Monckton, in 1755, when the fort was strengthened and its defences extended by a system of entrenchments, traces of which still remain.

The caretaker's residence was painted and a new drain installed to replace the old tile one which had been giving considerable trouble; general improvements were carried out at the park and additional articles of historical interest obtained for the museum.

Visitors registered at the museum during the year numbered 3,344.

Fort Chambly National Historic Park is situated about twenty miles south-east of Montreal, on a conspicuous headland on the Richelieu River. The first fort, built by the French in 1665 as a protection against the Iroquois, was of wooden construction. After many vicissitudes, it was rebuilt of stone, this work being completed in 1711. In 1760 the fort was surrendered to the British, who, with a small armed force, held it until 1775. In that year the Americans captured the fort; they evacuated in the following year, but burned everything that was combustible, leaving only the four walls standing. The fort was later repaired and garrisoned by Sir Guy Carleton and played an important part in the War of 1812.

All doors and windows of the museum and caretaker's residence were painted; the stone walls of the fort were repointed where necessary; the trees were trimmed and arrangements made with the Chambly Power Corporation to install lights at the entrance to the fort.

During the year 14,674 persons signed the museum register.

Fort Lennox National Historic Park is located on Ile-aux-Noix in the

Richelieu River, about thirteen miles south of St. Johns, Quebec. The present fort, which stands on the site of one previously erected by the French, was built by the imperial authorities in the period from 1812 to 1827. The island, comprising an area of 150 acres, was acquired by the National Parks Bureau in 1921, and extensive works have since been carried out on the buildings and grounds.

The fort property which had been used since 1940 as a Refugee Camp was transferred back to the Department and suitable arrangements made with regard to the disposal of the temporary buildings, materials, equipment, etc., which had been built or installed on the Island during the period it was occupied by the refugees.

Fort Wellington National Historic Park is situated at the east end of the town of Prescott, Ontario, and adjacent to Highway No. 2. The fort, named after the Duke of Wellington, was erected when the British authorities decided to fortify Prescott as one of the most vulnerable points of attack in the War of 1812, and as the main base for the defence of communications between Kingston and Montreal. It remains as it was when finally completed in 1838, an impressive landmark.

The log palisades around the fort were repaired; the exterior of the caretaker's residence and old guard house and the interior of the blockhouse were painted; steps were constructed leading to the top of the ramparts; improvements were made to the parking area; the masonry of the entrance gateway was repointed; the guard house and public conveniences were reshingled and whitewashed inside; the septic tank system was excavated and repaired; small signs marking points of interest on the grounds were painted and additional articles of historical value were obtained for the museum which is located in the blockhouse.

A total of 2,568 persons signed the museum register during the year.

Fort Malden National Historic Park is situated in Amherstburg, Ontario. The fort was built in 1797-9 by the Second Battalion Royal Canadian Volunteers. It was strengthened in 1812 as the principal military station on the western frontier and dismantled and abandoned in September, 1813. Only slight evidences of the original fortifications remain.

Arrangements were made with the Department of Public Works to carry out certain repairs to the protection wall which was erected a few years ago on the side of the park property facing the Detroit River; a new picket fence was erected over the north west bastion; new storm windows were made and painted and many additional articles of historical interest were obtained for the museum.

A total of 12,978 persons signed the museum register during the year.

Fort Prince of Wales National Historic Park is situated at the mouth of Churchill River, Churchill, Manitoba, and comprises an area of approximately fifty acres. The fort was built from plans drawn by English military engineers, to secure control of Hudson Bay for the Hudson's Bay Company and England. Construction was commenced in 1733 and completed in 1771. It was surrendered to, and partially destroyed by, a French naval force under La Perouse in 1782. Its ruins, which are among the most interesting military remains on this continent, have been partly restored and over forty cannon have been unearthed. Those suitable have been mounted on the walls of the fort.

General supervision was continued throughout the year.

NATIONAL HISTORIC SITES

During the year all the sites which have been marked on the advice of the Board were suitably maintained. These include Indian earthworks, forts, and villages; French forts, trading posts, and mission enterprises; sites connected with British exploration and naval and military operations in the long struggle for the possession of Canada; posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, and sites related to the social, economic, and industrial development of the country.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

By NORMAN FEE

THE Council and Executive of the Canadian Historical Association held three meetings during the year. At the meeting held in Montreal immediately following the final session of the annual meeting on June 2, Council named Mr. A. E. Prince of Queen's University Chairman of the programme committee for 1945. The regular annual meeting of Council was held at Baldwin House, the University of Toronto on November 6, 1944 and was well attended. The discussion centred on ways and means to increase the influence and usefulness of the Association and on the general plan for the programme of the annual meeting in 1945. It was felt that the capital account in which the Association had a credit balance of more than \$400 should in some way be increased and the money used for Canadian Historical Association prizes in the field of Canadian or colonial history, or that it might even be used to assist in the publication of an enlarged *Canadian Historical Review*. As a preliminary step to the enlarging of the capital account it was proposed that a campaign to increase the number of life members be undertaken. The results of this campaign were very gratifying. Invitations from the President, Mr. Sage and the committee consisting of Messrs. Lower, Brown, and Underhill were addressed to all members and a particular note was sent to all past presidents. Some fifty or more letters were received in acknowledgement commending the plan and twenty life memberships were received bringing the association \$1,060. The life membership is \$50.00 or more. The committee was re-appointed with a view to following up the work already done and also with a view to broadening the appeal to include persons and firms outside the present membership.

Mr. D. C. Masters, Bishop's University, Lennoxville, P.Q. was named Chairman of the Programme Committee for 1946.

THE PROGRAMME

The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association was held on May 23-5 at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. Papers were presented on the following subjects: "The Development of Canadian Literature," by G. H. Clarke, Queen's University; "The Evacuation of the Canadian Japanese," by F. E. LaViolette of McGill University; "The Nicolls Papers: A Study in Anglican Toryism, 1845-77," by D. C. Masters, Bishop's University; "The Alaska Boundary Dispute," by F. W. Gibson of Queen's University; "Political Developments around the Turn of the Present Century," by B. K. Sandwell, editor of *Saturday Night*, Toronto; "Le Nationalisme canadien-français à l'aurore du XXe siècle," by the Abbé Arthur Maheux; "Teaching of International Relations in the United States," by Howard Wilson, Harvard University; "Teaching of International Relations in Canada," by C. E. Phillips, University of Toronto. The presidential address was read by Professor W. N. Sage of the University of British Columbia at joint session with the Canadian Political Science Association, the subject being "Where Stands Canadian History?" The *Annual Report* of the Association, which will again be edited by Professor R. M. Saunders of the University of Toronto, will contain most of

the above papers. A joint session was also given to the subject of government, the following papers being read: "Changes in the Function of Government," by J. O. Corry of Queen's University; "Constitutional Adaptation to Changing Governmental Functions," by F. R. Scott, McGill University.

In spite of certain unavoidable last-minute changes in programme, the meeting went off very well, and was attended by a representative gathering including members from every province and also from the United States.

The following officers were elected: President, F. H. Underhill, University of Toronto; Vice-President, H. N. Fieldhouse, University of Manitoba; English Secretary and Treasurer, Norman Fee, The Public Archives, Ottawa; French Secretary, Séraphin Marion, The Public Archives, Ottawa; new members of Council to retire in 1948, A. G. Bailey, University of New Brunswick, the Abbé Antoine d'Eschambault, Archevêché de St-Boniface, D. C. Masters, Bishop's University, J. J. Talman, University of Western Ontario.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1945

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand May 1, 1944.....	\$ 120.42
Bank interest.....	\$ 1.81
Premium on United States funds and exchange.....	23.60
	<hr/>
	\$ 25.41
Membership fees and sale of <i>Reports</i>	\$2,123.00
Less amount collected for joint membership and remitted to Canadian Political Science Association	152.00
	<hr/>
	1,971.00
	<hr/>
	1,996.41

DISBURSEMENTS

Cunningham & Co., auditors.....	\$ 10.00
University of Toronto Press—	
<i>Printing Report</i>	\$521.96
<i>Canadian Historical Review</i>	348.25
	<hr/>
	870.21
<i>Bulletin des recherches historiques</i>	78.50
George W. Brown (for reprints).....	60.00
Life membership fees transferred to savings account no. 2911.....	767.50
Administration—	
Clerical assistance.....	\$ 40.00
Leclerc Printers.....	14.85
Expenses of Secretary-Treasurer.....	30.00
Petty Cash, including freight and postage.....	30.00
	<hr/>
	114.85
	<hr/>
	\$1,901.06
Balance on hand, April 30, 1945.....	215.77
	<hr/>
	\$2,116.83
	<hr/>
	\$2,116.83

Examined and found correct,

CUNNINGHAM & Co.,
Auditors

NORMAN FEE,
Secretary-Treasurer

Ottawa, May 19, 1945

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1945

RECEIPTS

April 30, 1944—Balance on hand.....	\$ 322.15
April 30, 1945—Bank interest.....	1.60
April 30, 1945—Life membership fees transferred from savings account no. 2851.....	767.50
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DISBURSEMENTS

April 30, 1945—Victory Bond (1 X 500).....	\$ 500.00
April 30, 1945—Balance on deposit in Bank of Montreal.....	591.25
	<hr/>
	\$1,091.25
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	\$1,091.25

Examined and found correct,

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Secretary-Treasurer

Ottawa, May 19, 1945

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